



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Br 98.351

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY



FROM THE BEQUEST OF
JAMES WALKER
(Class of 1814)
President of Harvard College

"Preference being given to works in the Intellectual
and Moral Sciences"

**THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.**

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL, LONDON.

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
JOHN FOXE.

CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. VI.—PART II.

SEELEYS,
FLEET STREET AND HANOVER STREET.
MDCCCLIX.

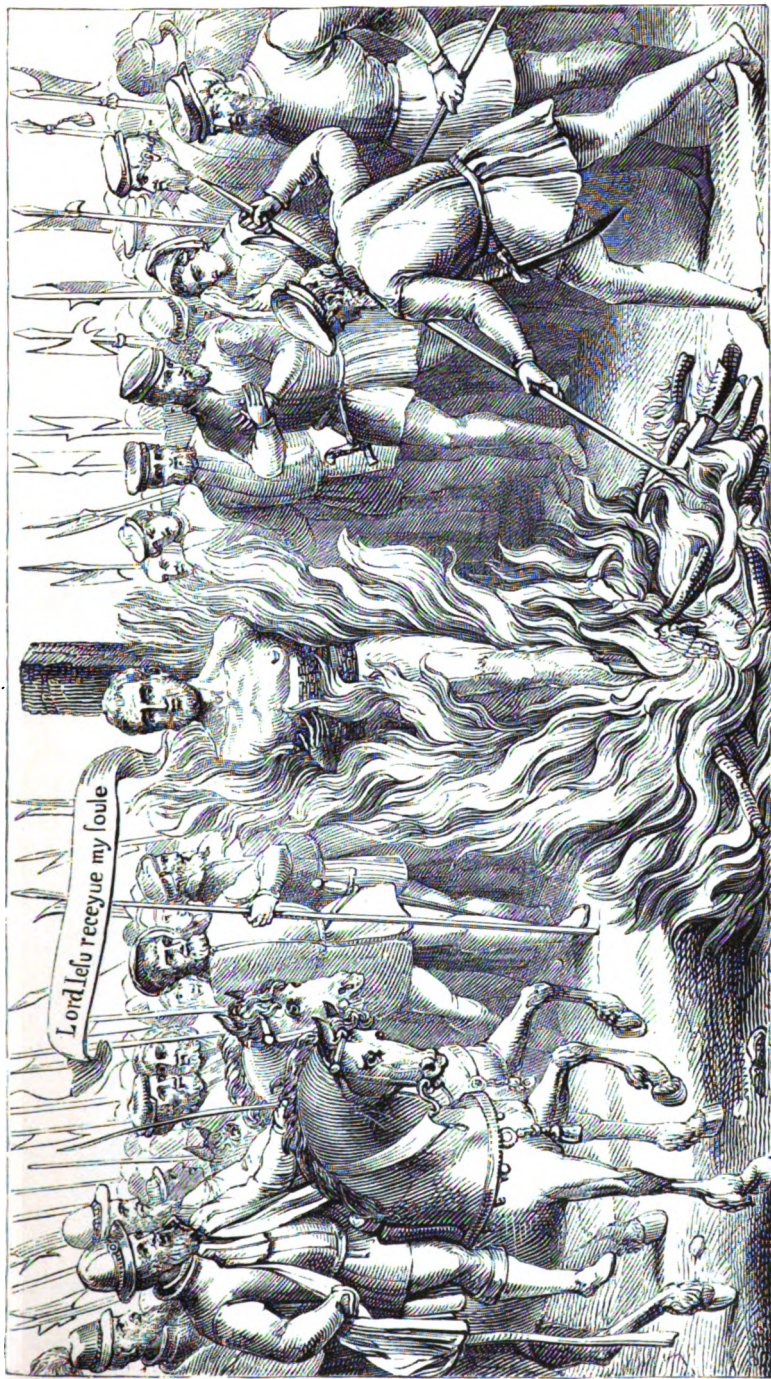
~~2447.6~~

Br 98.357





THE BURNING OF MASTER LAURENCE SAUNDERS AT COVENTRY.



THE BURNING OF MASTER HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.



THE MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR, AT HADLEY.

CONTENTS.

VOL. VI.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD
THE SIXTH.

A D.		PAGE
1549.	The reign of EDWARD VI. continued.	
	Books in the Latin Service abolished; with the King's Decree.	3
1550.	Taking down of Altars and setting up the Table instead thereof.	4
	The King's Letter to Bishop Ridley; together with certain Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the Form of a Table than an Altar	5
1549	A Letter of the Lady Mary to the Council	7
to	A Remembrance of certain Matters appointed by the Council in Answer, etc.	8
1550.	Letters between the Lady Mary, and the King and Council .	10
	A Copy of the King's Instructions, given to the Lord Chan- cellor, etc.	22
1547	The History of the Doings and Attempts of Stephen Gardiner :	
to	with the Examples of certain Letters, written by him, con- taining divers Matters not unworthy to be known in this present History	24
1550.	Certain Additions after these Letters above specified, with Notes and Solutions answering to the same	55
	The Sum and Conclusion of all Winchester's Drift, in his Epistles before	56
	A Letter of Gardiner, containing Objections made to a Sermon of Master Ridley's, made at the Court	58
1550.	Nineteen Articles and Positions, objected, severally, to the Bishop of Winchester	64
	A Copy of a Writ, touching the order and manner of the Mis- demeanour of Winchester, copied from the Public Records .	77
	A Copy of a Letter to the above, signed by the King and sub- scribed by the Council : also Six Articles delivered to him.	80
	The Copy of the Last Articles sent to the Bishop of Winchester.	82
	The Words of the Sequestration, with the Intimation to the Bishop of Winchester	85
	A Letter to Stephen Gardiner, from the Duke of Somerset and the rest of the Commissioners, touching such Points as the Bishop should entreat of in his Sermon	86

A.D.		PAGE
1550.	A Sermon of Stephen Gardiner, preached before the King . . .	87
	The First Session or Action against Stephen Gardiner . . .	93
	The Second Session	97
	Letters Missive to Dra. Standish and Jeffrey	99
	The Third Session	100
	Answer of the Bishop to a Request for more full Answers to certain Articles	101
1551.	The Fourth Session	104
	A Long Matter Justificatory, proposed by Gardiner . . .	105
	The Fifth Session	119
	A Letter from the Judges to Gardiner's Witnesses . . .	120
	The Sixth and Seventh Sessions	121
	The Eighth Session; with Interrogatories ministered by the Office	123
	The Ninth Session; with Articles additional exhibited by Gardiner	125
	The Tenor of the Matter exhibited by Gardiner, etc. . .	127
	The Tenth Session	130
	The Eleventh and Twelfth Sessions	131
	The Thirteenth Session: Allegations of Winchester, etc. .	133
	The Fourteenth Session	134
	The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Sessions	135
	The Seventeenth Session	136
	The Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Sessions . .	137
	Copy of a Letter of King Henry to Stephen Gardiner . .	138
	Part of a Letter of Francis Driander	139
	A Letter of Gardiner to the Lord Protector, out of the Fleet .	140
	The Attestations of all such Witnesses as were produced, sworn, and examined, upon the Articles ministered by the Office, against Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester .	143
	The Depositions of certain Witnesses, produced and examined upon the Positions additional, laid in by the Bishop in his First Matter, specified before in the Ninth Session . . .	240
	Notes for the Reader: containing Specialties, whereunto Ste- phen Gardiner did agree and grant; concerning Reformation of Religion	255
	Notes and Points, concerning Reformation of Religion, where- unto he would not grant	257
	The Twenty-first Session against Gardiner; with his Exceptions against the Witnesses.	258
	The Twenty-second Session	261
	The Appeal of the Bishop before the Sentence Definitive . .	262
	The Sentence Definitive	264
	A Note of the Communication of Master Wilkes, had with Dr. Redman	267
	Another Communication of the same, to Master Nowel, etc. .	269
	A Letter of Master Young to Master Cheke, concerning Dr. Redman	271
1552.	The History, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Por- tugal, for the testimony of God's truth	274
1549 to 1552.	The Tragical History of the worthy Lord Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector; with the whole Cause of his Troubles and Handling	282
	A Letter of the Lord Protector to the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; also the substance of the Reply	284
	Contents of another Letter of the Lord Russel; also a Letter of the Lord Protector, to the Council assembled in London .	285
	A Letter of the King to the Lord Mayor, in behalf of the Lord Protector	287
	A Letter of certain of the Council to the same, against the Lord Protector	289

CONTENTS.

iii

A.D.		PAGE
	Articles objected against the Lord Protector	290
1552.	An Account of the Execution of Edward Duke of Somerset, furnished by a noble Personage who witnessed it	293
1549	Peter Martyr's Disputation holden at Oxford, about the Sacra- ment of the Lord's Supper	297
to		
1552.	The First Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 20th of June, A.D. 1549, before the King's Majesty's Commissioners; by Dr. Madew, respondent	305
	The Second Disputation, holden at Cambridge the 24th day of June, 1549	319
	The Third Disputation, holden at Cambridge	327
	Disputations of Martin Bucer, at Cambridge	335
	A Fruitful Dialogue, declaring those words of Christ, "This is my Body;" between "Custom" and "Verity"	336
1553.	Epistles of the young Prince Edward to the Archbishop of Canterbury; with the Answer	351
	Commendation from the Prince's Scholmaster	<i>ibid.</i>
	The Prayer of King Edward before his Death	352
	A Letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry VIII.; also her Protestation to certain Lords sent to her by him	353

BOOK X.

BEGINNING WITH THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

	The Preface to the Reader	356
	The Whole Canon of the Mass, with the Rubric thereof, as it standeth in the Mass-Book, after Salisbury Use, translated word by word out of Latin into English	362
	The Form and Words of conjuring Salt, Water, Flowers, and Branches	381

QUEEN MARY.

	The First Entering of Queen Mary to the Crown, with the Alteration of Religion, and other Perturbations happening the same time in the Realm of England	383
	A Letter of the Lady Mary to the Lords of the Council, with their Answer	385
	An Inhibition from the Queen, for Preaching and Printing, etc.	390
	Master Bourn preaching at Paul's Cross	391
	The True Report of a Disputation, had and begun in the Con- vocation-house at London, the 18th of October, 1553	395
	The Precept of the Queen to Bishop Bonner, for dissolving the Convocation	411
1554.	The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhall, on the First of February, 1554	414
	The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.	415
	A Letter of the Lady Jane to her Father; followed by one to Master Harding	417
	A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, which she sent to her Sister, the Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered	422
	A Prayer of the Lady Jane	423
	The Words and Behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffold. <i>ibid.</i>	
	Certain Verses written by the Lady Jane; Epitaphs, etc.	424
	A Monition of Bonner to his Clergy, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and Receiving at Easter	426
	Articles sent from the Queen to Bonner, etc., to be put in speedy Execution.	<i>ibid.</i>

A.D.		PAGE
1554.	Articles sent from the Queen, unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers, by her Commandment, to be put in Execution in the whole Diocese	427
	A Prescript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen	429
	A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for driving Strangers and Foreigners out of the realm	<i>ibid.</i>
	The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a Convocation	433
	The Dignity of Priests extolled by Bonner, in a Fragment of an Exhortation to them of the Convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him	<i>ibid.</i>
	The Sum and Effect of the Communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourne, with others, at the Lieutenant's Table in the Tower	434
	How Thomas Cranmer Archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Oxford to dispute; with the Order and Manner and all other Circumstances unto the said Disputation, and also to their Condemnation, appertaining	439
	The Arguments, Reasons, and Allegations, used in the Disputation	444
	Disputation at Oxford, between Dr. Smith, with his other Colleagues and Doctors, and Bishop Ridley	469
	The Disputation had at Oxford, the 18th day of April, 1554, between Master Hugh Latimer, answerer, and Master Smith and others, opposers	500
	Address to the Reader; together with the Disputation of Master Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his Form, to be made Doctor	511
	Certain Observations or Censures given to the Reader, upon the Disputations of the Bishops and Doctors above mentioned: declaring what Judgment is to be given, as well touching the Arguments of the Adversaries, as also to the Answers of the Martyrs	520
	A Table declaring divers and sundry Respects how the Holy Real Body of Christ our Saviour, both in the Sacrament and beside the Sacrament, is present, eaten, and united to us	523
	A Table of the principal Arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer	525
	The same against Doctor Ridley	526
	The same against Master Latimer	527
	The Answers and Resolutions to the Arguments above mentioned, by Number and Order of the same	528
	The Report and Narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-prisoners at Oxford	532
	A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor; also a second	534
	The Copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it	535
	Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer	534
	Other Things which happened in this Realm, in this tumultuous Time	<i>ibid.</i>
	A Purgation of Thomas Cranmer, against certain Slanders and Rumours falsely raised upon him	535
	The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk, beheaded on Tower-hill	544
	The Apology of Master Mantel the Elder	546
	A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and sent abroad out of Prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation and Doctrine of their Religion	550
	Verses of John White, Bishop of Lincoln, and of others, concerning Philip and Mary; both Latin and English	555

CONTENTS.

A.D.		PAGE
1554.	A Story of a Rood set up in Lancashire	564
	A Mandate of Bishop Bonner, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon Church Walls	565
	Copy of a Letter sent from the Council to Bonner, concerning Queen Mary's conceiving with Child	567
	The Tenor of Cardinal Pole's Oration made in the Parliament House	568
	Copy of the Supplication and Submission, exhibited to the King and Queen's Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament	570
	An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament of England, in the presence of the King and Queen	572
	Copy of King Philip's Letter to Pope Julius, touching the Restoring of the Realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English; followed by the Cardinal's Letter on the same Matter	<i>ibid.</i>
	A lamentable Example of Cruelty, showed upon John Bolton, a Man of Reading, imprisoned for the true Testimony of a Christian Conscience	575
	Notes of a Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross	577
1555.	Master Rose, with Thirty Persons, taken at a Communion in Bow Church-yard	579
	Extract of an Act for the Government of Queen Mary's Issue	580
	A Prayer made by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance; followed by another Prayer that the Child may be well-favoured and witty, etc.; also another Prayer for the same Object	581
	* A Letter sent to Master Hooper, concerning the Taking of a godly Company in Bow Church-yard, at their Prayer; with the Answer unto it	585
	A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly Brethren taken in Bow Church-yard in Prayer, and laid in the Compter in Bread-street	586
	A Supplication of the Persecuted Preachers to the King and Queen	589

BOOK XI.

WHEREIN IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERINGS OF GOD'S SAINTS, WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GODLY MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.

1555.	The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Rogers	591
	The Examination and Answer of John Rogers, made to the Lord Chancellor and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January	593
	The Second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if it might have been heard), the 28th and 29th day of January	597
	The Sentence Condemnatory against Master Rogers	601
	Other godly Matter, penned by Master Rogers, including his Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings	603
	The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry	612
	A Parcel of a Letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, as an Answer to certain Things wherewith he had before charged him	617
	Letters of Laurence Saunders, to his Wife and to a Friend, etc.	618

A.D.
1555.

PAGE

The same to Archbishop Cranmer, to his Fellow-prisoners in the Marshalsea, to his Wife; with two others, on the Communion of Saints, and the true Taste of God's Love by Faith, with the Fruits thereof	620
The First Examination of Laurence Saunders	625
A certain Communication between Laurence Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Mary's Time	628
A Letter to Master Ferrar Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot	630
A Letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his Wife, and others of the faithful Flock, after his Condemnation to the Fire; written the last of February, 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street	631
Other Letters of Laurence Saunders, to Mrs. Lucy Harrington; to his Wife, with a Remembrance to Masters Harrington and Hurland; also to the same and other Friends, etc.	632
Letters to his Wife, a little before his Burning; also a Letter to Masters Robert and John Glover, written the same Morning that he was burnt	635
A Letter of Justice Saunders; and another wherein he seeketh to win Laurence Saunders to Popery	636
The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; burnt for the Defence of the Gospel at Gloucester, Feb. 9	<i>ibid.</i>
The King's Letter or Grant for the Dispensation of John Hooper, elected Bishop of Gloucester, written to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops	640
A Letter of the Earl of Warwick to the Archbishop, in the behalf of Master Hooper	641
A Letter of Ridley to the said Bishop of Gloucester	642
A Letter or Report of a certain godly Man, declaring the Order of Master Hooper's Deprivation from his Bishoprics, March 19, A.D. 1554	645
Master Hooper examined before the Commissioners	646
The true Report of Master Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own hand, the 7th of January, 1555.	647
Another Examination of Master Hooper	648
Another Examination, followed by the third and last	649
A Letter of Master Hooper, for the Stopping of certain false Rumours, spread abroad, of his Recantation	650
Degradatio Hooperi	651
The Form and Manner used in the Degrading of Bishop Hooper	652
Master Hooper's Prayer	657
Verses on Hooper; also a Letter which he wrote out of Prison to certain of his Friends	659
Comparison between Hooper and Polycarp	661
A Letter of Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful Alteration and Change of Religion	662
To Master Ferrar, Dr. Taylor, Masters Bradford and Philpot, prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark	664
An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife, Anne Hooper; whereby all true Members of Christ may take Comfort and Courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his Holy Gospel	665
To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her Widowhood; also another Letter to Hooper's dear Brethren, his receivers and helpers in London	670.

A.D.
555.

	PAGE
To a Merchant in London, by whose means he had received much Comfort in the Fleet; also to Mistress Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in God's Cause, and comfortable to His afflicted Members; afterwards dying in exile at Frankfort	672
To his dear Friends in God, Master John Hall and his Wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the Truth; also to his beloved Sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop	673
A Letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend Father, Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my Fellow-elder and most dear Brother in England	675
The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the Truth of God's Word, the 9th of February	676
The Examination of Dr. Taylor	681
Dr. Taylor's Deprivation	684
Dr. Taylor before the Bishop of Winchester and others	685
A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing the Report and Talk between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, January 22d	<i>ibid.</i>
The Copy of another Letter to his Friend, touching his Assertion of the Marriage of Priests, etc.	687
The Places of the Doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's Letter	689
A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's Causes afore touched, for the Reader more evidently to see how the Papists do against their own knowledge, in forbidding Priests' Marriage	<i>ibid.</i>
Dr. Taylor, the fourth Time, with Masters Bradford and Saunders, brought before Winchester and other Bishops.	690
The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, written in the Book which he gave to his Son	693
A Letter of Dr. Taylor to his Wife	701
Certain Letters of the King of Denmark to Queen Mary, respecting Miles Coverdale	705
Queen Mary's Answer	707
The Declaration of the Bishop of London, to be published to the Lay-people of his Diocese, concerning their Reconciliation	708
The Form of Absolution to be kept by the Pastors and Curates in private Confessions, concerning this Reconciliation, etc.	710
The lamentable and pitiful History of Master James Hales, Judge	<i>ibid.</i>
The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales	712
The History of Thomas Tomkins, Martyr; who, having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Bonner, for the constant Testimony of Christ's true Profession	717
The First Examination of Tomkins, with his Confession of Faith	719
Articles objected against him; also his Second Examination	720
His Confession repeated by Bonner; also his last Appearance and Condemnation	721
The notable History of William Hunter, a young man, an Apprentice, of nineteen years, pursued to death by Justice Brown, for the Gospel's sake; worthy of all young men and parents to be read	722
The History of Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, who, for their sincere Confession of their Faith under Bonner Bishop of London, were martyred and burned	729

A.D.		PAGE
1555.	Their Examinations, and Articles ministered by Bonner . . .	730
	Other Examinations, and their Answers to the Articles, etc. .	731
	The Confession of their Faith, delivered to the Bishop of London, etc., and for which they were condemned . . .	734
	William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, with their Examinations and Articles or Interrogatories objected by Bishop Bonner . . .	737
	Their Answers to the Articles . . .	738
	The last Appearance of the aforesaid Prisoners . . .	739
	The Prayer that Stephen Knight said at his Death, upon his knees, being at the Stake, at Maldon . . .	740
	The Death and Martyrdom of John Laurence, Priest . .	<i>ibid.</i>
	APPENDIX TO VOL. VI.	741

ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOL. VI.

	PAGE
THE CRUEL HANDLING OF WILLIAM GARDINER IN PORTUGAL . . .	281
THE BURNING OF MASTER JOHN ROGERS, VICAR OF ST. SEPULCHRE'S. .	611
THE BURNING OF MASTER LAURENCE SAUNDERS, AT COVENTRY . . .	628
THE BURNING OF MASTER HOOPER, BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER . . .	658
THE MARTYRDOM OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR, AT HADLEY . . .	700

No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament.

Mary.

A. D. 1553.

The convocation continued to the next day.

The Act of the Fourth Day.

On Wednesday, the 25th of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him, also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English.

Then said Philpot, "This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house that I had no learning, I had thought to have showed such learning as I have in a brief oration and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat."

But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, "You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which as well as so sudden a warning will serve I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will, in one word, declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny," quoth Philpot, "and against this I will reason."

The presence of Christ in the sacrament distinguished. His true presence not denied. The gross presence of the papists denied.

But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy there-for, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number; whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in ure a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument." "I am about it," quoth Philpot, "if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent, concerning a word or twain of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar, What he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins

Philpot craveth of the lords to prosecute his arguments without interruption. Philpot again interrupted by the prolocutor.

Altar diversely taken.

(1) Dr. Chedsey

- Mery.* upon the altar of the cross,—and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law did prefigure and signify unto us; *and* in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar, *and that right well*? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which *now a days* is made of lime and stone, *and hangen over the same,* and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion."
- Chedsey.* Then made Dr. Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.
- Philpot.* "Then," quoth Philpot, "I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willett me, and make a short resolution thereof: That that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it. And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto; and likewise offered to vouch the same before the queen's grace and her most honourable council, before the face of six of the best learned men of the house of the contrary opinion, and refused none. "And if I shall not be able," quoth he, "to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London, before the court gates." This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.
- Weston.* At this the prolocutor, with divers others, was very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said, or no? "Yea," quoth Philpot, "I wot well what I say;" desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. "And praised be God," quoth he, "that the queen's grace hath granted us of this house (as our prolocutor hath informed us), that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same."
- Philpot.* Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.
- Philpot.* Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the heaven, and said, "O Lord, what a world is this, *O Lord, what meaneth this world,* that the truth of thy Holy Word may not be spoken and abidden by?" And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.
- Philpot* After this, the prolocutor being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.
- Philpot* "I will be as brief," quoth Philpot, "as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, 'He is risen, he is not here:' and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.
- "I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; 'I came,' saith Christ, 'from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father: the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.
- "But I look here," quoth he, "to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent

myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction *may* take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: 'Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb;' which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner *ambiguity of obscure speech.*' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying; 'I leave the world now and go away to my Father,' then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers."

Mary.

A. D.
1553.

Cyril.

Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here;" and, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, "Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead?" And to the authority of Johu xvi., where Christ saith, "Now I leave the world and go to my Father," he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St. Chrysostome, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak unto Christ's flesh: "Elijah," quoth he, "when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him." Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

Chedsey's
answer to
Philpot.

To this answer Philpot replied and said, "That he enforced not his argument upon the saying of the angel ('Christ is risen, and is not here'), but toke his beginning thereby to proceed as before is rehearsed: to the process whereof you have not thoroughly answered: for I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refelled the authority of Chrysostome, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; the which, being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto."

Philpot's
answer to
Chedsey

At that the prolocutor starled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrowen; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostome, which he thought invincible on their side. "But I shall make it appear," quoth Philpot, "by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose." And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot, not being content, said, "Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same."

Philpot
interrupt-
ed.

This saying of Philpot was ill liked of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. "Hear," quoth Philpot, "and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority with yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostome, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one cut of Scrip-

Philpot
again in-
terrupt-
ed.

Weston.

Philpot.

Mary.

A. D.
1553.

The place of Chrysostome, of Christ taking up his flesh, and leaving his flesh, answered to by Philpot. How Christ left his flesh behind him. Chrysostome expounded by Chrysostome. Galat. iii.

ture, the other out of Chrysostome himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostome might therefore right well say, that Christ, ascending, took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, 'We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones.' And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostome another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying, 'As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ:' and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostome maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him."

Pie.

Now in this mean while master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: "Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many), being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me."

Weston.
A good
solution
for all
his argu-
ment.
Philpot.

Weston.
Philpot.

"Well," quoth the prolocutor, "you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace." "You perceive," quoth Philpot, "that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence." "If you will not give place," quoth the prolocutor, "I will send you to prison." "This is not," quoth Philpot, "according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one."

Then master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: "A sight* of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which, by the catholic doctrine of the Scripture, ye are not able to maintain."

Elmar
again
steppeth
forth.
Overs.

Moreman
desireth a
day, to
imagine
some
crafty
shift.

Then stepped forth master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that *οὐσία* in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accident: whose *learned* reasons and *clerkly ap*probations because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass them over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered master Moreman, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then did the prolocutor call master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr. Watson took upon him to give answer;

who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word "mysterium:" but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed the same to master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. "There may be a fault in the printer," quoth Watson, "for I am not remembered of this word." Then did master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he showed forth with his finger the same words; which master Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bulging out of the true signification of *οὐσία*.

Mary.

A. D.

1553.

Watson
con-
founded.
by Had-
don.

Then stept forth master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by master Elmar and master Haddon; to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, "I much marvel, master Pern, that you will say thus; forasmuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary." Which his saying master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, "partly for that this house," quoth he, "is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind." And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby.¹

Pern
against
transub-
stantia-
tion.

The Act of the Fifth Day.

On Friday, the 27th of October, Dr. Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, showing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was *οὐσία*: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their arguments. So master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to appose master Watson, who, with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

Master Haddon demanded this of him, "Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain after the consecration." Then master Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty was to object, should answer.—Yet master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer, but that thing first granted him. At last an order was set, and master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

Haddon,
dean of
Exeter,
against
Watson,
Morgan,
and Harps-
field.

Then he proved, by Theodoret's words,² a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after." Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

The
words of
Theodo-
ret.

Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word *οὐσία*; and master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. "For *οὐσία*," quoth he, "cometh of the particle *οὐ*, which descendeth of the verb *εἶμι*; and so cometh the noun *οὐσία*, which signifieth substance." Then master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

A popish
distinction
between
substance
and es-
sence.

Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, "After the consecration, and not before." Then gathered master Haddon this reason out of his author.

Da- The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

Argu-
ment of
Haddon

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

si. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

(1) Dr. Weston praiseth their learning, to flatter them, but he answereth not their arguments.

(2) Dial. vol. iv. p. 84. edit. Sirmond.: and vol. iv. edit. Schulsc. Halæ, 1776.—Ed.

- Mary.* Then master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the Real Presence.
- A. D. 1553.*
- Cheney.* Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning (which he acknowledged to be much more than his), could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.
- Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: "I pray you hear him," quoth he.
- Cheney's prayer.* Then master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, "Vincat veritas;" "Let the verity take place, and have the victory;" and all that were present cried with a loud voice, "Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas."
- Weston.* Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. "Men may better say," quoth he, "Vicit veritas," "Truth hath gotten the victory." Master Cheney said again, If he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.
- Cheney and Watson dispute.* Then he began with master Watson after this sort: "You said, that master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say, you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament."
- Cheney challenged, etc.* Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the Real Presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.
- Cheney.* Then master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the Real Presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted master Haddon's argument, in proving that *ousia* was a substance; using the same reason that master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author. "Yet he proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, this proved, he confirmed his saying of the nature and substance further: "For* the similitude of Theodoret is this," quoth he: "As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed his name, and was called immortal, yet had it his former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore," said master Cheney, "if, in the former part of the similitude, you deny the same substance to continue, then, in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of bread and wine after the sanctification."
- The argument of Theodoret renewed by Cheney.*
- Watson.* Then was master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, "*Quæ videntur*," etc. that is, "those things which be seen." For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.
- Cheney appealed to the lords.* Then master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback (as their business doth sometimes require), they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when

he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, "No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him."

After this, Watson said, "What if it were granted that Theodoret was on *their* side? Where as they had one of that opinion, there were an hundredth on the *other* side."

Then the prolocutor called for maister Morgan to *help. And he* said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake *αἰνυμένως*; that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: "but, that Theodoret was of the same mind that they were of, the words following," quoth he, do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' etc. whereby it doth appear, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human."

Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word "for;" for the Greek word did rather signify "truly" and not "for;" so that it might manifestly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

Then it was said by Watson again, "Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?" After this, master Cheney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus: "When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is *made,* do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist." If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body.

To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that "Ex quibus," "By the which," in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. "And let it be that Christ's flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, 'The bread which we break,' etc., with certain other like: whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in his proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent."

After this, master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of *the custom of* burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt? Master Watson said, we must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes? not of a substance? or can any substance arise of accidents?

Then was master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian,¹ how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; "and that which burned there," quoth Harpsfield, "burneth here, and becometh ashes." But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? "It was either," said he, "the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant." At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat master Cheney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more.

Then Dr. Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, "Yea," but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, "No, No;" which cry was

Mary.

A. D.
1553.

Morgan
is called
for, to
help at a
pinch.

Morgan
allegeth
false
the text.
See
Appendix.
Watson.

Cheney.

Watson
and Mor-
gan.

Cheney.

Cheney.

Harpe-
field called
in to
help Wat-
son.

Here is
good stuff
as if it
were out
of the Le-
gend of
Lies.

(1) Iren. lib. v. contra Valent. [cap. 2. § 3. See the passage quoted supra, pp. 339, 340.—Ed.]

(2) "De Lapsis," cap. 4.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1553.

Weston would know whether they were sufficiently answered, when he and his had answered no argument. Philpot offereth to answer them all.

A strong argument of Dr. Weston: where he is notable to answer, he would outface.

Elmar's reason why they would not answer.

heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheney, and Elmar said, "No." But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With whose proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr. Weston up, and said:

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made), that they should answer us again as long: as the order of disputation doth require: and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do."

Then master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said they would show good reasons which moved ^{*}their consciences, ^{*}that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: "Therefore," quod he, "it hath been ill called a disputation, and they worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean not to answer, before our arguments," quod he, "which we have to propound, be soluted, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove or dispute to the contrary.

The Act of the Sixth Day.

On Monday following, being the 30th of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do; whereof he had a dozen, ^{*}and not half of the first yet ^{*}decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto master Morgan was appointed.

"Upon Wednesday last," quoth he, "I was enforced to silence before I had ^{*}beaten out ^{*}half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar invisible, after the imagination of man." The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof, Philpot said, that this was it that he had to confirm his first argument, if he might have been suffered the other day: as thus:

Argument.

Fe- "One self and same nature," quoth he, "receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

ri- "But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

o. "Ergo, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly."

Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius,¹ an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the same out of Scripture.²

Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St. Paul, who saith, "that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin:" and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paul's Church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly, and at Lincoln invisibly, at one time (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basilus do affirm; *so* that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in divers places): wherefore he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb, he became *afterwards* in all points like unto us, except sin.

Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose.

"Well," quoth Philpot, "I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St. Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, "Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things," etc.: which words are spoken of his humanity. *Now* if heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth in the sacrament, as is pretended."

Then Morgan, laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, "ex necessitate," that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no.

Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as I rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

"Why," quoth Harpsfield, "do ye not know that Christ is God omnipotent?" "Yes," said Philpot, "I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds: but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude; he may do this or that, therefore he doth it."

Ba- "We must believe so much of his omnipotency, as he by his word hath declared and taught.

ro- "But by his word he hath taught us, that the heavens must receive his body until the day of doom.

co. "Ergo, We ought so to believe.

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "then you will put Christ in prison in heaven." To the which Philpot answered, "Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison."

(1) "Vigilius" was bishop of Thapsus, and flourished about the year 500, or earlier; his treatise against Eutyches is included in the Bibliotheca Patrum, as in the first Paris collection, vol. v. pp. 567—584, where it is incorrectly assigned to Vigilius, bishop of Trent. His works have been published in a collected form by Chiffet; Divlone. 1665. The treatise here referred to was published separately, Tiguri, 1539; also Colon. 1575. See Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. tom. i. col. 1320; also Walchii Biblioth. Patrum, p. 611, Jenz, 1834; Rivet's Critici Sacri lib. iv. cap. 28; and Cave's Hist. Litt.—Ed.

(2) Here is a new evasion invented by Morgan, who dare not plainly deny Vigilius's authority, but under a colour.

(3) If Weston charge them for prisoning Christ in heaven, how may they charge the papists for prisoning Christ in a box!

*Mary.**A. D.
1553.*

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this word "oportet" in St. Peter, which signifieth in English "must," did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in 1 Timothy iii., where Paul saith, "Oportet episcopum esse unius uxoris virum," "A bishop must be the husband of one wife." "Here," quoth he, "'oportet' doth not import such a necessity, but that he that never was married may be a bishop."

Philpot.

"Oportet," how it is taken diversely in Scripture.

To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike, which he went about to compare; *which thing ought specially to be observed in conferring of words or Scriptures together;* for that, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be. But in the other, St. Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. "And this comparison of this word 'oportet' doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, 'Oportet te hic esse,' 'You must needs be here;' which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another 'oportet' in another sense, as this; 'Oportet te esse virum bonum,' 'You must be a good man;' where 'oportet' doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you *may* be an *ill* man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument."

Weston.

Then the prolocutor brought in another "oportet," to help this matter (if it might be), saying, "What say you to this, 'Oportet hæreses esse;' must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word 'oportet?'"

Philpot.

"No, truly," quod Philpot: "it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, 'Ut qui electi sunt manifestentur;' that is, 'That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.'"

Weston.

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "the time hath been, that no heresies were."

Philpot.

"I know no such time," quoth Philpot; "for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they."

Weston.

Then said the prolocutor, "Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two?" "I will," quod Philpot, "if I may first be answered *of* my argument

Weston.

any thing according to truth and to learning." "What!" quod the prolocutor, "you will never be answered."

Philpot.

"How I am answered," quoth Philpot, "let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture, that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus—demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in prison, or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer, or no."

Morgan.

Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no?

Philpot.

"Yes," quoth he, "if it be the true catholic church. And with you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is."

Morgan.

"The church," quoth Morgan, "is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world."

Philpot.

*See
Addenda.*

"That is a diffuse definition," quoth Philpot, "for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I knowlege no church but that, which is grounded and founded on God's word; as St. Paul saith, 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.'"

Moreman.
Whether the church was before the Scripture.

"What!" quoth Moreman, "was the Scripture before the church?" "Yes," quoth Philpot.

"But I will prove nay," quoth Moreman, "and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any Scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the Scripture."

Philpot.

To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot showed that his argument was "elenchus," or a fallacy: that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that

which is written by men in letters; whereas, in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ: as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God before it was written.

At that Moreman cried, "Fie! fie!" wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that *he* had no knowledge that said so. Mary.
A.D.
1553.

To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman. Moreman.

At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bedlem,* than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered "Yea." Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company. Weston
raileth
against
Philpot to
be a mad-
man.

After this Morgan rose up, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, "Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you." "Then," quoth Philpot, "I had rather be absent altogether." Morgan.
Philpot
to come
in a long
gown and
a tippet.

Thus they, reasoning to and fro, at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her commandment to Bonner bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation. The copy of which commandment here followeth.

The Precept of the Queen to Bonner, Bishop of London, for the dissolving of the aforesaid Convocation.

Maria, &c., reverendo in Christo Patri et domino, domino Edmundo Londinensi episcopo, salutem. Cum præsens Convocatio Cleri Cantuariensis provincie apud S. Paulum London. jam modo tenta et instans existit, certis tamen urgentibus causis et considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, de advisamento concilii nostri ipsam præsentem convocationem duximus dissolvendam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem præsentem convocationem apud Sanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo absque aliquâ dilatione dissolvatis, dissolve faciatis prout convenit, significantes ex parte nostrâ universis et singulis episcopis, necnon archidiaconis, decanis, et omnibus aliis personis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque dictæ Cantuariensis provincie quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet huic mandato nostro exequendo intendentes sint et obediens prout decet.—Teste meipsâ apud Westmonasterium 13 die Decembri, anno regni nostri primo.

During the time of this disputation, the 20th day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day last before: whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

*Mary.*A.D.
1553.

The same day there was a letter directed to sir Christopher Heydon, and sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntingdon preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament: who, appearing before the council the 3d of December next after, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

In the days of king Henry, and also king Edward reigning after him, divers noble men, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as lord Courtney,¹ and the duke of Norfolk—whose son lord Henry, earl of Surrey, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous gentleman, for what cause, or by whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition (as Tonstal, bishop of Durham), and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till queen Mary's coming-in: unto whom the said queen eftsoons granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

Gardiner,
bishop,
made lord
chancel-
lor.
Lord
Courtney
made earl
of Devon.

Good bi-
shops dis-
placed.
See
Appendix.

Popish
prelates
intruded.

False re-
port.

Cranmer
with Pe-
ter Mar-
tyr, and
others, of-
fer to de-
fend their
doctrine
against
all men.

The same time Bonner, also, had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; whom likewise queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poyntet from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scory from Chichester, etc., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men, who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect set in the same, as cardinal Pole (who was then sent for), Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Tubervill,² etc.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forsomuch as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would choose, would, in open disputation, sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of king Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm; and so went he to Strasburg.

(1) This lord Courtney was son to the marquis of Exeter

(2) Or "Troublefield."—Ed.

November.—After this, in the month of November, the archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was, in Guildhall of London, arraigned and attainted of treason, with the lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, Cranmer, being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise, for their parts, to show themselves no less forward to serve the queen's appetite (as the manner is, of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present), began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity, with their gay gardeviance, and grey amices.

December.—And when the month of December was come, the parliament brake up, but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of præmunire, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments under king Edward: in the which parliament, also, communication was moved of the queen's marriage with king Philip the emperor's son.

In this meanwhile cardinal Pole, being sent for by queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a let to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son, and queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample ambassade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

January.—The 18th of January, 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas-day without license, was committed to the Fleet.

The 21st of January, master Thomas Wootton, esquire, was, for matter of religion, committed to the Fleet close prisoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this, and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion, whereof sir Thomas Wyatt, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who, being in Kent, said (as many else perceived), that the queen and the council would, by foreign marriage, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish popish religion. About the 25th of January news came to London of this stir in Kent, and shortly after of the Duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a power. The queen therefore caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyatt, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who, being about Rochester-bridge forsaken of them that went

Mary.

A. D.
1553.Cranmer,
with lady
Jane, ar-
raigned of
treason.Cranmer
quit of
treason.Going
about of
St. Katha-
rine and
St. Ni-
cholas
See
Appendix.Cardinal
Pole sent
for.Marriage
between
Philip
and Mary
conclud-
ed.

A.D. 1554

Jan. 25.

The duke
of Nor-
folk sent
against
Wyat.

Mary. with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either part.

A. D.
1554.

The duke
of Suffolk
appre-
hended.

Furthermore, to apprehend the duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the earl of Huntingdon in post, who, entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the duke, in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley-park, who, like a false traitor, bewrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

Queen
Mary
cometh
to the
Guild-
hall.

February.—In the meanwhile sir Peter Carew, hearing of that was done, fled into France; but the others were taken, and Wyatt came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyatt's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against Wyatt; the contents (at least the effect) whereof, here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

The Oration of Queen Mary in the Guildhall, on the First of February, 1554.

Demands
pretended
to be sent
from mas-
ter Wyatt
and his
company
to queen
Mary

I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our councillors.

Now, loving subjects, what I am, ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off), you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects; and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyatt is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods.¹ And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

Queen
Mary ex-
cuseth
her mar-
riage.

As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand, that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I

(1) How he intended the spoil of their goods, it appeareth in that he, coming to Southwark, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in body, nor in a penny of their goods.

assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

Mary.
A.D.
1554.

The promise of queen Mary touching her marriage.

And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence.

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of queen Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that she was coming with harnessed men, such a fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her oration (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without book), Winchester, standing by her, when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, "O how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince," etc.

Two days after, which was the 8d of February, the lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and master Wyat entered into Southwark, who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning another way by Kingston with his army, came up through the streets into Ludgate, and returning thence was resisted at Temple-bar, and there yielded himself to sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the court, and with him the residue of his army (for before, sir George Harpar, and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston-bridge) were also taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower-hill, and then quartered; whose head, after being set up upon Hay-hill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same: of which story ye shall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Feb. 8.

Wyat in Southwark.

See Appendix

Wyat cometh to Ludgate. Apprehended at Temple-bar.

Wyat executed.

The 12th day of February was beheaded the lady Jane, to whom was sent master Fecknam, alias Howman, from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth:

Lady Jane beheaded.

The Communication had between the Lady Jane and Fecknam.

Fecknam :—"Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind."

Lady Jane comfortably taketh her trouble.

Jane :—"You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it,

*Mary.**A. D.*
1554.

that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he showed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health."

Fecknam :—"I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith : although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein."

Jane :—"Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject : and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

Fecknam :—"What is then required of a christian man?"

Jane :—"That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

Fecknam :—"What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?"

Jane :—"Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

Fecknam :—"Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

Faith only
justifieth.

Jane :—"Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

Fecknam :—"Why? St. Paul saith, 'If I have all faith without love, it is nothing.'"

Jane :—"True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

Fecknam :—"How shall we love our neighbour?"

Jane :—"To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves."

Fecknam :—"Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

Good
works ne-
cessary,
yet do
not profit
to salva-
tion

Jane :—"I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth : but it is meet for a christian, in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works ; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

Fecknam :—"How many sacraments are there?"

Two sa-
craments.

Jane :—"Two : the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper."

Fecknam :—"No, there are seven."

Jane :—"By what scripture find you that?"

Fecknam :—"Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?"

The sa-
craments
of bap-
tism, and
the Lord's
supper.

Jane :—"By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom."

Fecknam :—"Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

What we
receive
with the
sacra-
ment.

Jane :—"No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine : which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross ; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross."

Fecknam :—"Why, doth not Christ speak these words, 'Take, eat, this is my body?' Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?"

Jane :—"I grant, he saith so ; and so he saith, 'I am the vine, I am the door ;' but he is never the more for that, the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, 'He calleth things that are not, as though they were?' God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ : for then either

I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

Fecknam :—"Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

Jane :—"Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, 'Take, eat, this is my body?' Was he not at the table, when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

Fecknam :—"You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

Jane :—"No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

Fecknam :—"That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Jane :—"Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance, for good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend!"

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

Jane :—"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him also to open the eyes of your heart."¹

A Letter of the Lady Jane, sent unto her Father.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father (if I may without offence rejoice in my own mis-haps), meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

†

Christ had power to turn bread into his body, but that is no argument that he did so.

A note of the false church.

Lady Jane's letter to her father.

(1) These words were spoken openly

*Mary.**A. D.*
1554.

being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, (in that being in so royal estate as I was) mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand; whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father),¹ the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of king Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who, then, being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher (as he appeared) of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and inconstant mutability, this christian lady being not a little aggrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth.

*See
Appendix.*

Another Letter of the Lady Jane to Master Harding,² late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk her Father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most Holy Word.³

So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, "That he which layeth hold upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;"⁴ and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, who seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and

(1) This parenthesis includeth with a prayer, a privy admonition to her father, that he fall not from his religion.

(2) This man, a little before king Edward died, was heard openly in his sermons in London to exhort the people with great vehemency after this sort: that if trouble came, they should never shrink from the true doctrine of the gospel which they had received; but should take it rather for a trial of God to prove them, whether they would abide by it or no. All which to be true they can testify, that heard him, and be yet alive; who also foreseeing the plague to come, were then much confirmed by his words.

(3) It is thus that Foxe introduces this Letter in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 926. "Here followeth a letter or eplistle of the aforesaid lady Jane to a certain learned man, whom both I know, and could also here nominate, if I were disposed. But, partly reverencing the worthy learning of the person, and partly, again, trusting and hoping again of some better towardness of the party hereafter, so have I set forth this her zealous letter to the man, that neither he be at any time thereby made the worse (being by me, as yet, unknown), and [that] others with himself also [may be] made the better; in that they may take heed, thereby not to fall in the like: and he also, being graciously and secretly admonished, may recover the fall, and avoid the peril; which I pray the Lord (if his will so be) he may."—Ed.

(4) Luke ix.

the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the Testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preaches, not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul; and chooseth rather to live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldst thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou, but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him, that called thee from the custom gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace), shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received), nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard Him, that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, "which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not;" which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to cast fear before the heathen? "But be not ye afraid of them," saith Jeremy, "nor do as other do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them: yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak." He sheweth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle, or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, or any other evil thing. These, and such like words, speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus: "Confounded be all they that worship them." They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places. God saith, he is "a jealous God," which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith, in Luke iv. to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil, which hath prevailed against thee: "It is written," saith he, "thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

These, and such like, do prohibit thee and all christians to worship any other god than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?—But thou wilt

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

Mary. say, thou doest it for a good intent. Oh sink of sin! Oh child of perdition. Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou, for a good intent, dishonour God, offend thy brother, and endanger thy soul, where-for Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, for a good intent, pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee, a miserable wretch, in his hundred and fourth Psalm, where he saith thus: "When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust; but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth." Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: "Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it."¹ And in the same place, "Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself and take up his cross, and follow me." What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself, and embrace Christ. And, like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all, in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief captain Christ hath set thee in array of this life. "Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum, sustine Dominum."² Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

The cross, for Christ's sake.

Anti-christ also hath his unity, which is not to be kept.

The agreement of evil men is no unity but a conspiracy.

But thou wilt say, "I will not break unity." What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such a unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in a unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in a unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizites and Jebusites, in a unity? Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in a unity? Doth not king David testify, "Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum?" Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity: "Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos." But mark, my friend (yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy); there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified what he himself saith: "Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium," etc. but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother in law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of Unity; for Antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not a unity but a conspiracy.

Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the Scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard, also, the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life. Saith he not, "He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven?"³ And to the same effect writeth Paul, "It is impossible," saith he, "that they which were once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance." And again, saith he, "If we shall willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the

(1) Matt. x.

(2) Psalm xvi.

(3) Matt. x.

(4) Heb. vi.

terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries."¹ Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, [and of] holy martyrs and confessors encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Harken what he saith: "Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."² Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith: "Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool: but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then," saith he, "that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the sea to rage, and be still, whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand."³ And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, "They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers, for my name's sake; and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not," saith he, "nor care you what you shall say: for it is the Spirit of your Father, that speaketh within you."⁴ "Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for yourselves," saith he, "where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth."⁵ "Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body."⁶ "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."⁷

Let these and suchlike consolations, taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets; of the three children; of Eleazar, that constant father; of the seven of the Maccabees' children; of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the church, as of good Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon,⁸ with infinite others under Sapor, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour's sake. Return, return again into Christ's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a christian man.⁹ And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance, for this is great and heinous an offence of apostasy: and comfort yourself, on the other part, with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whosoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you: against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart—to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, "Lord be merciful unto me a sinner."¹⁰ Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

(1) Heb. x.

(2) Matt. v.

(3) Isaiah ii.

(4) Luke xii.

(5) Matt. xiii.

(6) Matt. x.

(7) John xv.

(8) See Appendix.—Ed.

(9) Ephes. vi.

(10) Luke xvii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which, setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea did clean fall away, from him that forsook not them : and, contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and, last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood : which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

Be constant, be constant ; fear not for any pain :
Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister the Lady Katherine, the night before she suffered.

A faithful exhortation of the lady Jane to the lady Katherine her sister, to read God's word.

So live to die, that by death you may live.

I have here sent you, good sister Katherine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches ; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy : and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands ; so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life ; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old : and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not : be strong in faith, and yet presume not ; and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping ; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross : lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith, from the which (in God's name), I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory : to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

Here followeth a certain effectual prayer, made by the lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

A Prayer of the Lady Jane.

Mary.

A. D.

1551.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou, that saidst thou wouldest not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; who, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour.

O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace, patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore, likewise, seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace: above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication,^a that I may always refer myself to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father! for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory: Amen.

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

THE WORDS AND BEHAVIOUR OF THE LADY JANE UPON
THE SCAFFOLD.

These are the words that the lady Jane spake upon the scaffold, at the hour of her death. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold,

(1) Psalm lxxvii.

(2) Ephes. vi.

Mary. she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good christian people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then, kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying: "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of "*Miserere mei Deus*" in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, mistress Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to master Bruges. And then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes paste and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

*see
Addenda.*

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you dispatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off, before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the 12th day of February.

Certain Verses, written by the said Lady Jane with a Pin.

*Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt :
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.*

*Do^t never think it strange,
Though now I have misfortune,
For if that fortune change,
The same to thee may happen.*

JANE DUDLEY.

*Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus :
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.*

(1) This and the succeeding English verse are from the Edition of 1563, page 922.—E.D.

*If God do help thee,
Hate shall not hurt thee;
If God do fail thee,
Then shall not labour prevail thee.*

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Certain Epitaphs written in Commendation of the worthy Lady
Jane Gray.

De Jana Graia ¹ Johannis Parkhursti Carmen.

Miraris Janam Graio sermone valere ?
Quo primum nata est tempore, Graia fuit.

In Historiam Janæ. J. F.

Tu quibus ista legas, incertum est, lector, ocellis :
Ipse equidem siccis scribere non potui.

De Jana, D. Laurentii Humfredi decastichon.

Jana jacet sævo non æquæ vulnere mortis,
Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, martyrio.
Ingenium Latiis ornavit fœmina musis,
Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali stirpe creata,
Ipsaque reginæ nobilitata throno.
Bis Graia est, pulchrè Graiis nutrita camœnis,
Et prisco Graiùm sanguine creta ducum.
Bis martyr, sacræ fidei verissima testis,
Atque vacans regni crimine, Jana jacet.

Thus, the twelfth day of February, as I said, was beheaded the lady Jane, and with her, also, the lord Guilford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons; two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had willingly devised, and, by open proclamation, consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him; and so ended his life.

And not long after the death of the lady Jane, upon the 23rd^o of the same month, was Henry duke of Suffolk also beheaded at the Tower-hill, the 6th day after his condemnation: about which time, also, were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom was also the lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

The 24th of the same month, the year of our Lord 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following, to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter: the copy of which monition here followeth.

(1) Gray, being her surname, signifieth in Latin a Grecian.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

Mary. A Monition of Bonner Bishop of London, sent down to all and singular Curates of his Diocese, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and receiving at Easter.

A. D.
1554.

*See
Appendix.*

Coming
to confession.
Receiving the
sacrament of
the altar.

Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting: Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years agone, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at the least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion. And forasmuch, also, as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same: We, minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you, by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye, and everyche of you, within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come before Easter next coming to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, and with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do [not] receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the 6th day of April next ensuing the date hereof: that so we, knowing thereby who did not so come to confession, and receive the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also, certifying us, or our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether ye have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's majesty: and, if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded; and generally of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently [in] the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours; not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

Given at London the 24th of February, in the year of our Lord God 1554.

March.—The next month following, which was the month of March, and the 4th day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

Articles sent from the Queen to the Bishop of London, by him and his Officers, at her Commandment, to be put in speedy execution, with her Letter to the said Bishop before prefixed, dated March 4.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother king Edward the Sixth (whose soul God pardon), divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, advowtry, and other

enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm: and remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away, or at the leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the over hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted, as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matter, as, among other things, be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by your doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 4th day of March, the first year of our reign.

Articles sent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers, by her Commandment, to be put in speedy Execution in the whole Diocese.

See Appendix.

First, that every bishop and his officers, with all other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, used within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Item, That no bishop, or any his officer, or other person aforesaid, hereafter, in any of their ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, "*Regia autoritate fulcitus*."

Item, That no bishop, or any his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand, in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late, in few years passed, hath been accustomed and used.

Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime, and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering

Mary.

A. D
1554.

Ecclesiastical laws of king Henry VIII. renewed.

The supremacy of the king repealed.

For punishing of heresies, as they call them.

- Mary.* hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.
- A. D.*
1554.
- Against priests' marriage.* Item, that every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and amove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of our order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.
- See Appendix.*
- Provision for priests who renounce their wives.* Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain alive; and likewise such priests, as (with the consent of their wives or women) openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably. In which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.
- Married priests divorced both from wife and benefice.* Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.
- Provision for want of priests.* Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve "alternis vicibus" in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.
- Processions in Latin. Holy days and fasting days. Ceremonies restored.* Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented, and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.
- Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as was observed and kept in the latter time of king Henry the Eighth.
- Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.
- Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.
- Orders.* Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of order: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before; and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.
- Coming to divine service.* Item, That by the bishop of the diocese a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.
- Provision for catholic schoolmasters.* Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and, finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.
- Item, That the said bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting-forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and everyche of them may be

seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this our realm and dominions of the same.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

March 4.
*See
Appendix.*

A like prescript also, with articles, was sent from the said queen Mary to the lord mayor of London, the 4th day of March, in the year abovesaid; which lord mayor, upon the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, containing as followeth:

A Prescript of the Lord Mayor to the Aldermen.

On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye (the said aldermen) fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly, for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, [all] and every of them, do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholically, use and behave themselves like good and faithful christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, lately set forth and given by the right reverend father in God the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but, also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils; [and] that ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your like peril.

Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the 5th day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady the queen

Blackwell.

And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past.

About the same year and time, when Dr. Bonner set forth this prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, against strangers and foreigners within this realm: the purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A Copy of the Queen's Proclamation for the driving out of the Realm Strangers and Foreigners.

The queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being -born out of her highness's dominions in other sundry nations,

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.Causes
laid
against
strangers.
See
Addenda.

flying from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born (some for heresy; some for murder, treason, robbery; and some for other horrible crimes), be resorted into this her majesty's realm, and here have made their demoure, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such con-dign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, inasmuch as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her highness's said realm) it is assuredly known unto her majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid, divers her highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her grace, but also some others of them desist not still to practise with her people oftsoons to rebel: her majesty therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known, using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and movables; and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's highness's dominions (except before excepted), that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her grace's pleasure, or her councils be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall, with all diligence, immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment accordingly.

Peter
Martyr
and John
Alasco
banished
the
realm.
English-
men flee
out of the
realm for
religion.
The num-
ber of
English
exiles
well near
800 per-
sons.

March 15;
lady
Elizabeth
and lord
Courtney
com-
mitted to
the
Tower.
See
Appendix.

In the meanwhile, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in king Edward's time received into the realm for religion (among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alasco uncle to the king of Poland), but many Englishmen fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to High Germany, where they were diversely scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Emden, Marburg, Strausborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of 800 persons, students and others together.

In the said month of March, the lord Courtney earl of Devonshire, whom the queen, at her first entering, delivered out of the Tower, and lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to Wyat's conspiracy, and for the same, this March, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader! a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the lady Elizabeth, and thinking now, by the occasion of

master Wyat, to pick out some matter against the lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that sir Thomas Wyat died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtney; who there, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the lady Elizabeth and him: and so, being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer there, openly (in the hearing of all the people) cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Dr. Weston, there standing by, cried to the people, saying: "Believe him not, good people! for he confessed otherwise before, unto the council."

After the execution done of sir Thomas Wyat, which was the eleventh day of April, word was brought immediately unto the lord mayor, sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how master Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney, and the words also which Dr. Weston spake unto the people; whereunto the lord mayor answering, "Is this true?" quoth he;—"said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Upon this the lord mayor sitting down to dinner (who dined the same day at the Bridgehouse), cometh in sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament-house, who, hearing of the mayor and sheriffs this report of Wyat's confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale, contrary to this, told the same day in the parliament-house, which was, that sir Thomas Wyat should desire the lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain prentice, dwelling in St. Laurence-lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plasterer, being one of queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk made mention how sir Thomas Wyat had cleared the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney to be no consenters to his rising. These words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said bishop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star-chamber, who was accused of these words, that he should say, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney. Which fellow, when he was come to the Star-chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the queen's majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her; and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm, being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same unto the true catholic faith. And whereas she took the lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands; and, notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

A point of practice of Gardiner against the lady Elizabeth

Weston against the lady Elizabeth.

The lord mayor's judgment of Weston.

Cut, prentice in London, brought before Sir Henry Gardiner

Gardiner's tale in the star-chamber against the lady Elizabeth.

Mary. of Wyat, said he, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear :
A. D. yet there were some in the city of London who reported, that Wyat
1554. was constrained by the council to accuse the lady Elizabeth and the lord Courtney, "and yet you, my lord mayor," quoth he, "have not seen the same punished."

"The party is here," said the lord mayor. "Take him with you," said Gardiner, "and punish him according to his desert ;" and said further, "My lord, take heed to your charge ! The city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realm."

The lord Chandos's false report in the star-chamber against lady Elizabeth and lord Courtney.

There stood by, the same time, the lord Chandos, who, being then lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speak, to sooth his tale came in with these words as followeth :

"My lords," quoth he, "this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtney ; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's majesty's mercy."

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the reader, perceiving the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himself, and with the testimony of the sheriffs, who were present the same time when sir Thomas Wyat asked the lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the lady Elizabeth, and the lord Courtney were so long in trouble ; of which her grace's trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay, let us now pass further in our history.

Queen Mary not favouring the Londoners.

A parliament intended to be kept at Oxford.

One holden at Westminster.

The queen's marriage.

Bonner made vicegerent and president in the convocation.

Appendix.

Not long after this, queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy ; partly perceiving most of the city, for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford : as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country, had showed themselves very obedient, and forward, especially, in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about. But the queen's mind in short space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to king Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy : as touching her marriage, it was agreed upon ; but the other request could not as then be obtained.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of king Henry and king Edward, as followeth.

The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a Convocation.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londinensi episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem, etc.

See
Appendix.

Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is, "*Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput*," because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner, giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out "*auctoritate illustrissimæ, etc. legitime suffultus*:" which parcel, also, in the said parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

"Supremum caput" in the queen's style.
"Legitime suffultus," in the bishop's title.

THE DIGNITY OF PRIESTS EXTOLLED BY BISHOP BONNER.

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time), wherein he seemeth to show a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and superangelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by: which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly, also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true that Bonner saith.

A Piece or Fragment of the Exhortation in praise of Priesthood, made by Bonner Bishop of London, to them of the Convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity's sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi.: "Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth," etc. "and whatsoever ye shall bind," etc. For a priest, by some means, is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the blessed Virgin, by five words, did conceive Christ, as it is said in Luke i., "Be it unto me according to thy word;" so the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb; so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the selfsame words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by

Priests compared to the Virgin Mary in three points.

(1) "Plat mihi secundum verbum tuum."

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

Priest-
hood
compared
and pre-
ferred be-
fore the
state of
angels.
Blasphemy.

See
Address.

some means, passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard saith, "O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate." St. Augustine saith, that angels, in the consecration of the sacred host, do serve him; and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, "Doubt thou not the angel to be where Christ is present upon the altar." Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, etc.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Framlingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with secretary Bourn, master Fecknam, and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.

See
Appendix.

The Sum and Effect of the Communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the Lieutenant's Table in the Tower.

Sir Tho-
mas of
Bridges.
Who, is a
heretic.

A heretic
defined
by St. Au-
gustine.

Fecknam
provoking
Ridley.

Unity,
antiquity,
universality.

Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother master lieutenant's board, "I pray you master doctors, for my learning, tell me what a heretic is." Master secretary Bourn said, "I will tell you who is an heretic: he that stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth—he is an heretic." "Ye mean, sir," said I, "an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith." "Yea, that is true," said he; and in this we were soon agreed. Then said master Fecknam, sitting at the head of the table (whom they called master dean of Paul's), I will tell you by St. Augustine, who is an heretic; "Qui adulandi principibus vel lucrī gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est," saith St. Augustine.¹ And then he Englished the same. "Sir," said I, "I ween St. Augustine addeth the third member, which is, 'vel vanæ gloriæ causa.'" "Ye say even true, master doctor," said he. And thus far we did agree all three.

Master Fecknam began again to say, "He that doth not believe that the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is 'hæreticus': as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth, Paul affirmeth, and none denieth it: therefore, to hold the contrary, it is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin. And this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was an heretic, as master doctor there knoweth full well: I do testify his own conscience," said he.

"Marry sir," said master secretary, "master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do ye not think so, master doctor?" said he to me.

Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended as nothing to talk; said one of the commissioners, "Peradventure master Ridley doth agree with master Fecknam; and then there needs not much debating of the matter."

"Sir," said I, "in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters," said I, "ye be, as I understand, the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in those matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace."

"There is none here," said master secretary, "that doth not favour you:" and then every man showed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, so me-thought they granted me it but *vix* or *ægrè*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licence, and so began to talk.

(1) Augustine de Utilitate Credendi, cap. 1, vol. viii. page 45. Benedict.—Ed.

To master Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, "As for the multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ, 'Ego sum ostium ovium' [i. e. 'I am the door of the sheep'], as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain of whose spirit he doth speak." And where master Fecknam spake of so many affirming without any negation, etc., "Sir," said I, "all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, and leave their meaning—then do they not affirm what ye take, but what they meant. Sir," said I, "if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye, by the same, do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if ye would be captious, cavil my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companion to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive that I did mean."

"Marry," quod master secretary, "he should else do you plain injury and wrong."

Master Fecknam, perceiving whereunto my talk went, "Why," quod he, "what circumstances can ye show me, that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' quod pro vobis tradetur' ['This is my body which shall be betrayed for you']?"

"Sir," said I, "even the next sentence that followeth, viz. 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem' ['Do this in my remembrance]. And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, I may say, that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, 'Hoc est corpus, quod pro vobis tradetur,' so Paul, which spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, 'Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus' [i. e. 'We, being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread']."

"Here he calleth one bread, one loaf," said master secretary.

"Yea," said I, "one loaf, one bread: all is one with me."

"But what say ye," quod master secretary, "of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that master Fecknam did speak of?"

"I ensure you," said I, "I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is, before God, I do believe it and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our Head, Christ, and such one as Paul speaketh, saying, 'Una fides, unus Deus, unum baptisma' [i. e. 'One faith, one God, one baptism']. And for Antiquity, I am also persuaded to be true that Irenæus saith, 'Quod primum verum' [i. e. 'That which is first is true']. In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, doth all agree, if they be well understood, in this truth."

"I am glad to hear," said master secretary, "that ye do so well esteem the doctors of the church."

"Now as for universality," [said I,] "it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality [for] the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age."

"No, no," saith master secretary, "these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest." And here he and I changed many words; and finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

"There was none," quod master Fecknam, "before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Huss; and now, in our days, Carolostadius and Œcolampadius. And Carolostadius saith, 'Christ pointeth [to] his own body, and not the sacrament, and said it, Hoc est corpus meum.' And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius said I), and saith: 'Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam à fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam,'¹ or like words.

Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words mo; "Sir,"

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Truth in
Scripture
goeth not
by number
of affirma-
tion, where
one is
sufficient.
See
Appendix.

Hoc est
corpus
meum"
expound-
ed.

Unity
with ve-
rity to be
allowed.

Anti-
quity.

Univer-
sality

(1) "I can find no grounded reason, to cause me to dissent from the belief of our fore-elders."

*Mary.*A.D.
1554.Bertram
See
*Appendix.*Doctors
that make
the sacra-
ment but
a figure.The
book of
cate-
chism.

said I, "it is certain that other before these have written of this matter, not by the way only, and 'obiter,' as doth for the most all the old writers, but even 'ex professo,' as their whole book entreateth of it alone; as Bertram."

"Bertram," said master secretary, "what man was he? and when was he? and how do ye know?" etc. with many questions.

"Sir," quod I, "I have read his book. He proponeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus."

"Marry," quod he, "mark, for there is a matter. He wrote," quod he, "ad Henricum, and not ad Carolum; for no author maketh [any such] mention of Bertram."

"Yes," quod I, "Trithemius in *Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum*¹ speaketh of him."—"Trithemius was but of late time."—"But he speaketh," quod I, "of them that were of antiquity." Here, after much talk of Bertram, "What authors have ye," quod master secretary, "to make of the sacrament a figure?"

"Sir," quod I, "ye know, I think, that Tertullian² in plain words speaketh thus: 'Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei.'³ And Gelasius⁴ saith plainly, that 'Substantia panis manet.'⁵ And Origen⁶ saith likewise, 'Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum, et vadit in secessum.'⁷ This when I had Englished, master secretary said to me, "You know very well as any man," etc. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and "quod essem vir multæ lectionis" ["that I was a man of much reading"]. But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again. And here was much ado.

"As for Melancthon," quod I, "that master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance; and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there is two."

"Ye say truth," quod master secretary; "Melancthon's opinion is so. But, I pray you, ye have read that the sacrament was in old time so revered, than [that?] how many were there that were forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof—"catechumeni," quod he, "and many more."

"Truth, sir," quod I, "there was called some 'audientes,' some 'pœnitentes,' some 'catechumeni,' and some 'energumeni,' which was commanded to depart."

"Now," quod he then; "and how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book, which is set forth in my lord of Canterbury's name? I wis, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it?" And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of the book; which yet there was said of some there, to contain most heinous heresy that ever was.

"Master secretary," quod I, "that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I ensure you (be not deceived in me), I was never able to do or write any such thing like. He passeth me, no less than the learned master his young scholar."

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material for to tell. "But, sir," quod I, "methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man do lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make of it but a figure; for that [but] maketh it a bare figure without any

(1) "Johannes Trithemius, Abbas Spanheimensis, Ord. S. Bened. anno 1500 claruit, pluribus scriptis editis celebris. Imprimis nomen meruit insigni opere de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ad sua tempora deducto, et Basilæ 1494 primum, postea et Col. Agrip. 1581, divulgato." Hallervordii spicilegium de hist. Lat. as included in Supplementa et observat. ad Vossium cum præf. I. A. Fabricii. (Hamburgi, 1709, page 746.) The work of Vossius may itself also be consulted, page 644, Edit. 1651. Upon "Bertram," Mr. Gibbings' Preface (pp. 44 to 47) to An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius (Dublin, 1837) will well repay a reference.—Ed.

(2) Tertullian contra Marcion, lib. iv. cap. 40.—Ed.

(3) "This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body."

(4) Gelasius de duabus nat. in Christo, vol. v. page 475, in the Bibliotheca Patrum (Paris, 1575); where however the words are "et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini."—Ed.

(5) "The substance of bread remaineth."

(6) Origen in Matthæum; tom. xi. § 14, vol. III. p. 499; Paris, 1740.—Ed.

(7) "That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance passeth away into the draught."

more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plain.

Mary.

"Yes," quod he, "that doth he."

"Sir, no," quod I, "of a truth; and as for me, I ensure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death."

A. D.
1554.

"No," quod master secretary, "Scripture saith not so."

"Sir," quod I, "although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, 'The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ?' And St. Augustine, 'Manduca vitam; bibe vitam.'"¹

Then said master Pope, "What can ye make of it, when ye say, 'There is not the real body of Christ, which I do believe, etc.; and I pray God I may never believe other.' How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?"

"Sir," quod I, "when ye hear God's word truly preached, if ye do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth."

"I pray you tell me," quod he, "how can you answer to this: 'Quod pro vobis tradetur?'² Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?"

"No sir," quod I, "but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure."

"How say ye then," quod he, "to 'Quod pro vobis tradetur?'"³

"Forsooth," quod I, "Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain; for he saith, *Tertullian.* 'Corpus est figura corpora.'⁴ Now put to 'Quod pro vobis tradetur,'⁵ and it agreeth exceeding well."

"In faith," quod he, "I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion; for I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you."

"I thank you, master Pope, for your heart and mind; and ye know," quod I, "I were a very fool if I would, in this matter, dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow), it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain."

"What say ye," quod he, "to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, '*Cyprian.* Panis quem porrigebat Dominus, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia Verbi factus est caro?'"⁶

"True sir, so he doth say; and I answer even the same which once, by chance, I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported as any poor man hath been. For there I speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, I told even the same thing of 'penitentes,' 'audientes,' 'catechumeni,' 'energumeni,' that I spake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. And then I said to those that be 'sancti,' Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, '*Panis est corpus, cibus, potus, caro,*' etc.; because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name." And this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that material substance of bread did remain.

Dr. Ridley falsely reported of, for a sermon of his at Paul's.
See Appendix.

The place of St. Cyprian expounded.

Master Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me never one word.

"You do know well," quod master secretary, "that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred."

"Sir," quod I, "there is none of all the doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. Sir, but I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament."

No one of all the doctors is holden in all points.

"What," quod master Cholmley, late chief justice, "doth not Christ say

(1) "Eat life, drink life." [Sermo 131, De verbis Evang. Joh. vi. § 1, tom. v. edit. Benedict.—Ed.]

(2) "Which shall be given for you."

(3) Idem.

(4) "The body is a figure of the body."

(5) "Which shall be given for you."

(6) "The bread which the Lord did deliver, being changed, not according to the form but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent Word, is made flesh." [De Cena Domini, attributed to Cyprian, p. 40, Appendix. Edit. Oxon, 1682.]

(7) "Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh."

Mary. plainly, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or we can have no life?" "Sir," quod I, "if you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, ye shall perceive that ye are in a wrong box." And when I began to tell St. Augustine's mind in his book "*De Doctrina Christiana*,"¹ "Yea, yea," quod master secretary, "that is true; St. Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed."

A. D.
1554.
St. Au-
gustine.

"Forty years ago," quod master Fecknam, "all was of one opinion in this matter."

"Forty years ago," quod I, "all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church."

"What then?" master Fecknam was beginning to say, etc.; but master secretary took the tale, and said, "That was but a positive law."

"A positive law?" quod I; "No sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith: 'Nullis synodis constitutis, neque conciliis, sed viva voce Domini, prælata est ecclesia Romana omnibus ecclesiis in toto mundo; dicente Domino Petro Tu es Petrus,'² etc. And in another [place] he entreatheth, 'Tu es Cephas, id est, caput.'"³

See
Appendix.

"Tush! it was not counted an article," quod master secretary, "of our faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation."

"Yes," said I, "if ye call that an article of our faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, 'Omnino definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem creaturam subesse Romano pontifici, de necessitate salutis.'"⁴

And here, when we spake of laws and decrees, master Cholmley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered, the rest was so ready to speak. And then he up and told a long tale, what laws was of kings of England made against the bishop of Rome; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Ridley's
books
given
away.

Finally, we departed in peace, and master secretary promised in the end, that of their talk, there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said, they were all once given him: "But sith he yet knoweth who hath them now, write me the names of such as ye would have, and I will speak for you the best I can."

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquisition made upon the same, divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the diocese of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Bonner bishop of London, who sent forth a commission,⁵ with a process to sequester and separate them; enjoining also penance to the poor woman.

(1) Lib. iii. § 16.—Ed.

(2) "The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor by any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter," etc. Dist. 21. "Quamvis." [See *Corpus Juris Canonici*, tom. i. p. 58; where, however, the language is rather different.—Ed.]

(3) "Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head."

(4) "We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation." [See *Extravag. Comm. lib. i. tit. 8. Corpus Juris Canonici*, tom. ii. p. 394; Paris, 1687.—Ed.]

(5) The tenor of this commission we have here adjoined:—"Edmundus, etc. Dilecto nobis in Christo, magistro Wilhelmo Roper, in legibus baccalaureo, salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. De tua sancta doctrina, conscientie puritate, et circumspectionis industria plurimum confidentes, ad evocandum et evocari faciendum coram te in iudicio, quibuscunque die et loco congruis et opportunis, arbitrio tuo limitandis, Johannem Draper presbyterum, nuper rectorem ecclesie parochialis de Rayleigh, nostre Londoniensis, diocesis et jurisdictionis, et quandam Johannem Gold, quam alias dictus Johannes contra sacros canones constitutionesque et ordinationes laudabiles sancte matris ecclesie catholicæ temere et de facto duxit in uxorem; causamque et negotium illud pretenis et illegitimi matrimonii cum suis annexis, connexis, quibuscunque, audiendum et examinandum: eosdem quoque delinquentes juxta juris exigentiam ab invicem divortiandum et separandum, atque ut de cetero seorsum et separatim vivant nulloque modo invicem cohabitent, aut carnale commercium habeant, mandandum et, sub pena juris, monendum et jubendum, necnon penitentiam salutarem et condignam dietæ Johannæ Gold, propter sua delicta et excessus in hac parte ac jurisdictione, juxta qualitates eorundem, prout discretioni tue melius videbitur expedire, injungendum et imponendum; ceteraque omnia et singula in præmissis, aut ea necessaria seu quomodolibet requisita, faciendum, exequendum, et expediendum, vias nostras committimus, ac plenam in Domino, tenore præsentium, concedimus potestatem, cujuscunque legitime coactionis ecclesiasticæ quam decreveris in hac parte, assumpto tibi in actorum scribam in præmissis quocumque notario fidei et idoneo: mandantes, quatenus de omni eo quod in præmissis et circa ea feceris, sigillum officialitatis, etc.; in cujus rei, etc." See Edition 1563, page 931.—Ed.

Besides this John Draper, divers others, also, were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented, of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their wives: as of Chichester one (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless), another named Edmund Alstone, another Alexander Bull; amongst whom also was Dr. Standish, with many others, whose names together, in the end of this story of queen Mary, we may peradventure, by God's grace, in a general catalogue together comprehend.

The 10th of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of master doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, master doctor Ridley, and master Latimer, to sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The 26th of March, there was a letter directed to sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of doctor Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

HOW THOMAS CRANMER ARCHBISHOP, BISHOP RIDLEY, AND MASTER LATIMER, WERE SENT DOWN TO OXFORD TO DISPUTE; WITH THE ORDER AND MANNER, AND ALL OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES UNTO THE SAID DISPUTATION, AND ALSO TO THEIR CONDEMNATION, APPERTAINING.¹

About the 10th of March², Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer bishop also some time of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and after from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, master Harpsfield, master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, etc. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

First, Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no? Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, sent down to Oxford to dispute.

Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance do remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ? The university doctors appointed to dispute against them.

Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead? Three questions.

Touching the order and manner of all the things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday the 7th day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming

(1) This portion of Foxe's history has been excellently illustrated in "The Remains of Thomas Cranmer, D.D. collected and arranged by the Rev. H. Jenkins," (vol. iv. pp. 4 to 66), who says: "There still exists, in manuscript, the official report" (of this disputation) "from Weston the prolocutor to Bonner, in the Harl. MSS. 3642. Also short notes of the chief arguments, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 340, art. 13; and some longer notes in the public library of the same university, K k. 5. 14."—Ed

(2) See the Appendix.

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Letters
sent down
from Ste-
phen Gar-
diner to
Cam-
bridge.

A grace
for ar-
ticles.

A grace
for the
Cam-
bridge
doctors to
dispute
against
Cranmer,
Ridley,
and Latimer.

The com-
ing of the
Cam-
bridge
men to
Oxford.

Their
welcom-
ing to
Oxford.

The Cam-
bridge
doctors
repair to
Dr. Wes-
ton.

*See
Appendix.*

*High
pointes
conclud-
ed at a
standing
juncture.*

The three
prisoners,
Cranmer,
Ridley,
and Latimer, dis-
severed.

Consul-
tation.

down from Stephen Gardiner lord chancellor were read, with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three articles are sufficiently expressed before.

Whereupon, in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor: ¹ "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles is sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning faith; and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and master Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace granted to master Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforesaid letters, being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the 10th day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation-house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the 11th of the said month) the aforesaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the second day after (being Friday, the 13th of April), were all lodged at the Cross-inn, with one *Wakefield,² being some time servant to bishop Bonner.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Crooke presented them with wine for their welcome; and, shortly after, two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine; after whom, next came master Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace (which was in Dr. Seton and Dr. Watson's *chamber*), they went all to Lincoln-college, to Dr. Weston the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor Dr. Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces, *where they had a junkery, but sat not down.*³ Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation, to be had the morrow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the forenamed prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; ¹ Dr. Ridley to alderman Irish's house, master Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the 14th of April, at eight of the clock, the aforesaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln-college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with the company of the house singing Requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, etc. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest

(1) "Placeat vobis ut instrumentum fiat, quod horum jam prælectorum articulorum doctrina sana sit et catholica, atque cum veritate orthodoxæ fidei consentiens, et vestro consensu et suffragiis comprobetur?"

(2) Edition of 1563.—Ed.

(3) See Appendix

of the doctors of that university to send for their scarlet *copes,^{1*} brought from Cambridge; save that doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

That done, they came all into the quier, and there held the convocation of the university, *being gremials.^{1*} They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song² by the quier-men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they weresent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one master White for Oxford, should testify of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, The quier in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadle before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and art beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, "Regentes, et non regentes," in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the quier sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many other to Lincoln-college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the quier, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons; and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who, within a while, was brought to them with a great number of rusty bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his councillor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but, of late years,

(1) Edition of 1563. See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) 'Mass in pike-sauce,'—in prick-song, I would say.

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

The doctors in their scarlet *copes*

The causes of their assembly declared.

Cambridge letters read. Three notaries assigned.

Subscribing to the articles.

Procession in Oxford. The array of the solemn procession.

Another consultation of the doctors and priests.

Archbp. Cranmer brought before the doctors and high priests at St. Mary's church.

Mary did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth
 of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore
 it pleased the queen's grace, to send them of the convocation, and
 other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be.
 Then showed he him, how they of the convocation-house had agreed
 upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

Answered
the arch-
bishop to
Weston.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and
 learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, forasmuch as it
 was¹ "The preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen
 as of the christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two
 stories of the Romans' commonwealth. Which thing when he had
 done, he said, that he was very glad to come to a unity, so that it were
 in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the prolocutor caused the
 articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and sub-
 scribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them
 over three or four times; and, touching the first article, he asked what
 they meant by these terms, "Verum et naturale," i. e. "True and
 natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "Corpus organicum," i. e.
 "A sensible body?" Some answered, "Idem quod natum est ex
 Virgine," i. e. "The same that was born of the Virgin;" and so con-
 fusedly, some said one thing, some another.

The arti-
cles de-
nied by
the arch-
bishop.

Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly; and when he
 had looked upon the other two, he said, they were all false, and
 against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said,
 in that unity with them.

Warning
given to
Cranmer
to dis-
pute.

See
Appendix.

This done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of
 them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and
 caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to
 answer thereunto on Monday next: and so charged the mayor with
 him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering
 moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and should
 have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly com-
 mended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters
 of arts were seen to weep for him, who in judgment were contrary to
 him.

Ridley
brought
in. His
answer
to the
arti-
cles.
Ridley
falsely
reported
for
a sermon.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read
 unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false;
 and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His
 answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to
 his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester,
 wherein (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it
 utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him,
 which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring
 no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one, whether he
 desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and
 other things? He said, that my lord would say no such things or
 words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He an-
 swered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have
 his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but he

(1) "Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnorum quam Christianorum."

required time and books. They said, he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own books, and time, also, to look for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in master Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back: complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones¹ and sinews in the New Testament. To whom master Latimer said again, "That you will never do, master doctor:" and so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry.

After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz. Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glyn, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Sedgewick, went to the Cross-inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the 14th day of April.

On Sunday after, master Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where *divers of the doctors of both universities had their copes, and were* placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen-college, and there had a great dinner.* They supped at Lincoln-college with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles in writing.

On Monday, being the 16th of April, master Say and master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And, about eight of the clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter-college; and so they went into the schools. And when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four appointed to be "exceptores argumentorum" *set a table* in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation *began, set a work* by the prolocutor with a *very* short "præludium." Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and, *or* he left, the prolocutor divers times. Drs. Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

Latimer
brought
in.

Latimer
could not
find the
mass in
all the
New Testa-
ment.

Subscrip-
tion.

Four
"excepto-
res ar-
gumen-
torum."

(1) What he meaneth by the marrow-bones of the mass, read after, in his protestation given in writing to the prolocutor.

(2) See the Appendix.—Ed.

Mary. vice-chancellor, Pie, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so that three hours of the time were spent*or*the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four questions subtilely. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the answerer; but he refused with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would make water or otherwise ease himself, he should. Thus the disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion *audientium*: "Vicit veritas." Then were all the arguments, written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of master Say, registrar; and as for the prisoner, he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University college.

A. D.
1554.
Disputers
against
Cranmer.
See
Appendix.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

THE ARGUMENTS, REASONS, AND ALLEGATIONS USED IN THIS DISPUTATION.

April 16. On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of rusty bills, was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration. His words in Latin, as he spake them, were these:

Weston
speaketh
truer
than he
wist.

"Convenistis hodie, fratres, profligaturi detestandam illam hæresin de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento," etc., that is, "Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ, in the sacrament," etc. At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had bewrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring license, answered in this wise.

See
Appendix.

Cran-
mer's an-
swer to
the pre-
face.

"We are assembled," saith he, "to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason," saith he, "that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain."

This was the sum and effect of his answer ; and, this done, he prepared himself to disputation. *Mary.*

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute. *A. D.*
1554.

" Reverend master doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at present, to dispute upon ; *Articles.*

" First, in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood, present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

" Secondly, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

" Thirdly, the lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory as well for the quick as the dead.

" These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof: I term it *your* opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore I thus argue : *See Appendix.*

" Your opinion differeth from the Scripture :

" Ergo, you are deceived."

Cranmer :—" I deny the antecedent."

Chedsey :—" Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, ' Take, eat : this is my body which shall be given for you.'

" But his true body was given for us :

" Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

[The right form of this argument is thus to be framed :

Da- " The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

ri- " But his true body was given for us :

i. " Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament."]

Cranmer :—" His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him : but spiritually. And so is it taken after a spiritual sort ; for when he said, ' This is my body,' it is all one as if he had said, ' This is the breaking of my body ; this is the shedding of my blood.'—As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood ; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily."

Chedsey :—" Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament :

" Ergo, your opinion therein is false."

Cranmer :—" I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey :—" Christ when he spake these words, ' This is my body,' spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cranmer :—" I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort : and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large ; with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people ; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken. *Papists false of promise.*

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

An Explication of Cranmer upon the aforesaid Conclusions exhibited in Writing.

In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.How
Christ is
really
present.

nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word "really" "*re ipsa*," i. e. in very deed and effectually, so Christ by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

But if ye understand by this word "really" "*corporaliter*," i. e. "corporally;" so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical; so, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning,—Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

This conclusion
contumelious
against
Christ.

The third conclusion, as it is intricate and inwrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense; is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind.

Chedsey :—"By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand,—the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

Matt.
xxvi.
Mark xiv.
Luke
xxii.
1 Cor. xi.

"And first (to begin with the Scripture), let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, 'As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread,' etc. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who, also, for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, 'Jesus taking bread,' etc. After the same sense also writeth Luke xxii., 'And when Jesus had taken bread,' etc. 'In the mouth of two or three witnesses,' saith the Scripture, 'standeth all truth.' Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof."

Sub-
stance
and effi-
cacy both
granted,
etc.

Cranmer :—"Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And, forsomuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit."

A further Explication exhibited by Cranmer.³

The final
cause
why the
supper
was or-
dained.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy—preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, forgive us all our sins, and cancel out the handwriting that was against us—that we, through ungrateful oblivion should not forget his death, therefore, at the time of his holy supper, did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: "Do this in remembrance of me;" and "So often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death, till he come."³ And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, "Take eat, and drink ye all of this."⁴ Therefore, who-

(1) Organical, is called that which is a perfect body, having all the members and parts complete, belonging to the same.

*See
Appendix.*

(2) Mr. Jenkyns has printed, in his work alluded to (page 439, in the note), the original Latin of this explication from the official report in the British Museum.—Ed.

(3) 1 Cor. xi.

(4) Matt. xxvi.

soever, for man's tradition, denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those Scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: "Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men."¹ The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say), seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience [is] quenched; and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. "We are many," saith St. Paul, "one bread, and one body, all we which do partake of one bread, and one cup."² And Christ saith: "Eat ye; this is my body;" and, "Drink ye; this is my blood."³ And, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: he that eateth me, shall also live for ever."⁴

Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist (until they be consumed of the faithful) to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, who eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: "They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them." Moreover, he abideth also in them that worthily receive the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form, and shape, and parts, of the true natural body of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed his disciples, when he said, "Eat ye; this is my body:" and likewise of the cup, when he said, "Drink ye; this is my blood:" meaning verily of that bread, which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life; which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread (I say) and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, "Eat ye; this is my body." And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, "Drink ye; this is my blood." And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet, notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood; "Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery." So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine: but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith; should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that being like eagles

Mary.

A. D.
1554.Sacra-
ments
seals of
God's
promises.Bread
and wine
remain
still in
the eu-
charist,
and be
seals to
us annex-
ed with
God's
promises.Christ's
words are
spoken
not of an
uncertain
substance,
but of a
certain
substance
of bread.How the
doctors do
take the
speech of
Christ.Bread
called by
the name
of the
body.

(1) Matt. xv.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

(3) Matt. xxvi.

(4) John vi.

(5) "Non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio."

*Mary.***A. D.
1554.**

Consider not what the sacrament is in nature, but what it signifieth in mystery.

A memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal.

What is eating the mystical bread.

What the crucified body of Christ doth to our souls.

The sacrifice of Christ's body once, sufficient for all.

No sacrifice now for sin, but one. Christ sacrificed once for sin: we sacrifice daily by thanksgiving, and thankful works of charity.

in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we, receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ; having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and, through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus: "This is my body; eat ye:" but, after he had bidden them eat, then he said, "This is my body, which shall be given for you:" which is to mean, as though he should say, "In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before you bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; *that* eat and digest in your minds; chew you upon my passion; be fed with my death. This is the true meat; this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you—being truly fed and inebriate—shall live for ever. The bread and wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise you by them; which is—myself to be meat for you of eternal life."

The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world; but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For "he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him."¹ For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption:" "And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times); but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered:"² "Who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: for by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified." "For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin,"³ but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy: for if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant, that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity: for by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

And thus you have out of the testimonies of holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ; which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand (but then too late), that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life, he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself.

(1) Isa. liii.

(2) Heb. ix.

(3) Heb. x.

Weston :—" Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments." Mary.
A. D.
1554.

Chedsey :—" The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body : Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament." Argu-
ment.

Cranmer :—" To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural ' organicum,' that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, concerning the evangelists thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it, his body." Answer.

Chedsey :—" The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, ' The same body which shall be given.'

Bo- " That thing is here contained, that is given for us. Argu-

ro- " But the substance of bread is not given for us. ment.

co. " Ergo, The substance of bread is not here contained."

Cranmer :—" I understand not yet what you mean by this word ' contained.' Answer. If ye mean ' really,' then I deny your major."

Chedsey :—" The major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the Scripture: for the Scripture saith, ' This is my body which is given for you.' "

Cranmer :—" I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; ' but the body,' saith he, ' that shall be given for you.' As though he should say, ' This bread is the breaking of my body; and this cup is the shedding of my blood.' What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it." The body of Christ contained not really, but sacramentally.

Chedsey :—" If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, ' This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many.' Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith; but the substance of the body."

Cranmer :—" You must prove that it is contained: but Christ said not, ' which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself."

Chedsey :—" When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?"

Cranmer :—" He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body."

Chedsey :—" This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body."

Cranmer :—" It did signify that which they did eat."

Chedsey :—" They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

[In some other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedsey.]

Bo- " The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross. Argu-

ro- " But bread was not given on the cross for us: ment.

co. " Ergo, Bread is not given in the sacrament."

Cranmer :—" I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually."—And after, he denied also the argument as utterly nought, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.] Answer.

When master Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before is showed, Dr. Ogle-

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.Ogle-
thorpe
breaketh
Priscian's
head, and
speaketh
false
Latin.

thorpe, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called "censores" (belike to be arbiters to order the disputations), said on this wise :

Oglethorpe.—"You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus."

Cranmer.—"You should say, 'Quale corpus.'¹ I answer to the question: It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, 'Panis est corpus,' is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body."

Oglethorpe.—"This word 'body,' being 'prædicatum,' doth signify substance.

"But 'substantia' is not predicated denominatively.

"Ergo, It is an essential predication; and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body."

Cranmer.—"Substantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution."

Oglethorpe.—"It is not a likely thing, that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament."

Cranmer.—"Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the holy Scriptures."

Oglethorpe.—"But no householder maketh his testament after that sort."

Cranmer.—"Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments; and specially in this his supper."

Oglethorpe.—"No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here."

Cranmer.—"Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are."

Oglethorpe.—"The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabbling.

"But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes:

"Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes."

Cranmer.—"I deny your minor."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his book entitled 'De unitate Ecclesiæ,' chap. x.,² hath these words following:—

"What a thing is this, I pray you? When the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir, who regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not-believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour,—both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?"

"The Argument is thus formed:

Bar- "Whosoever saith that the testator did lie, is a wicked heir.

ba- "But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie:

ra. "Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir."

Answer. *Cranmer.*—"I deny the minor: as who say, it is necessary that he that useth to speak by tropes and figures, should lie in so doing."

Oglethorpe.—"Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches."

(1) Cranmer might have found fault with this argument, as well as with his Latin, being made in no mood or figure.

(2) "This authority is stated in the Cambridge MS. to have been alleged by Oglethorpe; it certainly forms part of his train of reasoning." Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 24.—Ed.

(3) "Quid hoc est, rogo? Cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiantur ituri ad inferos, nemo eum dicit esse mentitum, et illius non judicatur hæres qui fortè ea contempserit. Quomodo ergo effugiemus iram Dei, si vel non credentes, vel contententes, expulserimus verba novissima, et unid filii Dei et Domini nostri salvatoris, et ituri in cælum, et inde prospecturi, quis ea negligat, quis non observet, et inde venturi ut de omnibus judicet!"

Cranmer :—"Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe :—"This you do, through the ignorance of logic."

Cranmer :—"Nay, this you say, through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston :—"I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?"

Cranmer :—"Bread."

Weston :—"What gave he?"

Cranmer :—"Bread."

Weston :—"What brake he?"

Cranmer :—"Bread."

Weston :—"What did he eat?"

Cranmer :—"Bread."

Weston :—"He gave bread: therefore he gave not his body."

"He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth." Argument.

Cranmer :—"I deny the argument."

Cole :—"This argument holdeth, 'à disparatis':¹ It is bread: ergo, it is not the body; and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer :—"The like argument may be made. He is a rock: ergo, he is not Christ."

Cole :—"It is not alike."

Weston :—"He gave not his body indeed: ergo, it was not his body indeed."

Cranmer :—"He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And, in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body."

Weston :—"Why? then the Scripture is false."

Cranmer :—"Nay, the Scripture is most true."

Weston :—"This saith Chrysostome:² 'Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, *that* is brought to pass by this food which he gave unto us, minding to show his great good will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also, insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure, inasmuch that they, showing their great desire toward him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a greater love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed, but I do not so (saith he), but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you; desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.' Thus much out of Chrysostome. Out of which words I make this argument."

"The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten." Weston's argument.

"Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Ergo, His true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten."

Cranmer :—"I grant the consequence and the consequent."

(1) "Disparata" is a school term, meaning divers substances, being so sundered in nature; that one can never be said to be the other.

(2) "Necessarium est, dilectissimi, mysteriorum dicere miraculum quid tandem sit; et quare sit datum, et quare rei utilitas," etc. Homil. 61, ad Pop. Antioch. (Or rather Hom. in Johan. 46, al. 45, Edit. Benedict. tom. viii. p. 272; in Jenkyns's Appendix, p. 425.—Ed.)

See Appendix.

- May.** *Weston* :—" Therefore we eat it with our mouth."
A. D. *Cranmer* :—" I deny it. We eat it through faith."
1554. *Weston* :—" He gave us that same flesh to eat whereby he became our brother and kinsman.
A figureless argument. *Weston* :—" But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh :
Cranmer :—" Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten."
Cranmer :—" I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually."
Weston :—" He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin.
Cranmer :—" But he took not his true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.
Weston :—" Ergo, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually."
Answer. *Cranmer* :—" Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually."
Weston :—" Chrysostome is against you, where he saith,¹ ' Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.' Whereupon I gather this argument:
' Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body.
' But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk :
' Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood."
Cranmer :—" He gave us the wine for his blood."
Weston :—" If he gave the wine for his blood (as you say), then he gave less than mothers do give.
' But Chrysostome affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give:
' Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood."
Cranmer :—" You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein. As for example: when he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith."
Weston :—" When Christ said, ' Eat ye,' whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?"
Cranmer :—" He meant, that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth."
Weston :—" Nay, the body by the mouth."
Cranmer :—" That I deny."
Weston :—" I prove it out of Chrysostome, writing upon the fiftieth Psalm :
' She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ, our nurse, doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own flesh; and instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own blood.' Likewise, upon the 83d Homily, on Matth. xxvi., he saith: ' For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the meanwhile to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it); and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.'"

Another false argument, where, in the third figure, the minor is a negative.

Christ nourisheth us both with bread and with his body: with bread our bodies, with his body our souls.

No Appendix.

(1) Fallax à dicto secundum quid ad simpliciter.

(2) " Veniat tibi in mentem quo sis honore honoratus, qua mensa fruaris. Ea namque re nos alimur, quam angeli," etc. Hom. 83, in xxvi. cap. Matt.

(3) A gross saying.

(4) " Erubescit fieri nutrix, quæ facta est mater. Christus autem non ita ipse nutritor est noster: ideo pro cibo carne propria nos pascit, et pro potu suum sanguinem nobis propinavit." Item, in xxvi. Matthæi, Homil. 83. " Non enim sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellis interim cædi: sed nos secum in unam, ut ita dicam, massam reduci, neque id fide solùm, sed re ipsa nos corpus suum efficit." [" Sir H. Saville doubted the genuineness of this homily, and F. Duceus and Montfaucon reject it altogether, as unworthy of Chrysostome." Jenkyns.—Ed.]

Cranmer :—" I grant, we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth, I deny." *Mar.*

Weston :—" Chrysostome (2 Cor. xiii. Homil. 29) hath these words: ' No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.' " A. D. 1554.

Cranmer :—" This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostome many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself; as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostome, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ." The words of Chrysostome expounded.

With which word of the " sacrament of the body," etc. Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the church. Dr. Cole's denial.

Cranmer :—" And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?"

Cole :—" How gather you that of Chrysostome?"

Cranmer :—" Chrysostome declareth himself thus: ' O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above, at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the sacrifice's time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtilty or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.' Thus you hear, Christ is seen here in earth every day; is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure." Chrysostome alleged by Dr. Cranmer.

Weston :—" What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hearken what Chrysostome saith: ' I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is, in like manner, the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest; and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other; and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.' "

" Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth."

Cranmer :—" What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit." How the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth.

Weston :—" I pray you, what it is that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?"

Cranmer :—" Chrysostome speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament."

Weston :—" Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

(1) " Non vulgarem honorem consequutum est os nostrum, accipiens corpus Dominicum." [Hom. xxx. § 2.]

(2) " O miraculum, O Dei in nos benevolentia, qui sursum sedet ad dextram Patris, sacrificii tamen tempore hominum manibus continetur, traditurque lambere cupientibus eum! Fit autem id nullis præstigiis, sed apertis et circumspicientibus circumstantium omnium oculis." Chrys. lib. iiii. de Sacerd. cap. 4. ["The original of this passage supports Cranmer's reasoning much better than the version here given." Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 30. The principal variation appears in the closing line, which we accordingly copy: " ποῖον δὲ τοῦτο πάντες διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς νουθεσίας." In Hughes's edition of this treatise (Cantabr. 1712), βλέποντες takes the place of ποῖον; he has a long note upon the passage (p. 291), but does not notice any various reading; neither does Montfaucon, vol. i. p. 468. Paris, 1834. — Ed.]

(3) " Quod summo honore dignum est, id tibi in terra ostendo. Nam quemadmodum in regis non parietes, non lectus aureus, sed regium corpus in throno sedens omnium præstantissimum est: Ita quoque in coelis regium corpus, quod nunc in terra proponitur. Non angelos, non archangelos, non coelos colorum, sed ipsum horum omnium Dominum tibi ostendo. Animadvertit quoniam pacto, quod omnium maximum est, atque præcipuum in terra, non conspicaris tantum sed tangis, neque solum tangis, sed comedis, atque eo accepto domum redis. Absterge igitur ab omni sorde animam tuam." Hom. [24, § 5.]

- Mary.* Cranmer :—" I deny the argument."
- A. D. 1554.* *Weston* :—" That thing is showed forth, and is now the earth : '*ostenditur est*,' which is worthy highest honour.
 " But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour :
 " Ergo, The body of Christ is now on the earth." "
Cranmer :—" I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism."
Weston :—" Chrysostome saith '*ostendo*,' ' I show forth,' which noteth a substance to be present."
Cranmer :—" That is to be understood sacramentally." "
Weston :—" He saith '*ostendo in terra*,' ' I show forth on earth ;' declaring also the place where."
Cranmer :—" That is to be understand figuratively."
Weston :—" He is showed forth on the earth, and is now, etc. as before."
Cranmer :—" Your major and conclusion are all one."
Weston :—" But the major is true : ergo, the conclusion also is true.
 " That thing is on the yearth, which is worthy of most high honour.
 " But no figure is worthy of highest honour.
 " Ergo, That which is on the earth, is no figure."
Cranmer :—" I answer, that is true sacramentally."

Weston
falsifieth
the words
of Chry-
sostome.

Here Weston crieth to him, that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when Cranmer went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostome, using for "*ostenditur in terra*," " he is showed forth on the earth," "*est in terra*," " he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostome hath not "*est*" nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost in *baptismo ostenditur*, i.e. is showed forth in baptism : and oftentimes he did inculcate this word "*ostenditur*."

rend
words
used in
the school
against
Cranmer.

Then the prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise ; calling him *indoctum, imperitum, impudentem*, i.e. unlearned, unskilful, impudent : which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument ; then he bade the notary repeat his words again.

Notary :—" That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee in earth.

" The body of Christ is worthy highest honour :

" Ergo, He sheweth forth the body of Christ here on earth."

Cranmer :—" That is showed forth here on the earth, which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten : but these things be not true of the body."¹

Cole :—" Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ ?"

Cranmer :—" The major out of Chrysostome is true ; meaning of the sacraments. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth."

(1) This word "*est*," is not in Chrysostome.

(2) This argument of Weston, standing only upon affirmatives in the second figure, hath no perfect form in logic.

(3) Thus Cranmer answereth to the place of Chrysostome, how Christ is showed forth on the earth, not bodily, but in a sacrament ; that is sacramentally and figuratively.

(4) The body of Christ is showed forth to us, here in earth, divers ways : as in reading of the Scriptures, sometimes in hearing sermons, and also in sacraments ; and yet neither the Scriptures, nor sermons, nor sacraments are to be worshipped.

Weston :—"Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer :—"I cannot, but in the sacrament only."

Weston :—"Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer :—"So it is."

Judges :—"Let it be written."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Cranmer :—"I pray you let my answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ."

Weston :—"Ostendo tibi," i. e. 'I show it to thee,' saith Chrysostome—not to thy faith."

Cranmer :—"He speaketh sacramentally."

Weston :—"Ergo, Chrysostome lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith: 'Ego Chrysostomus ostendo,' i. e. 'I Chrysostome do show.' But he can show nothing sacramentally."

Chedsey :—"By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour.—The reason is indissoluble."

Cranmer :—"I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it."

Chedsey :—"Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostome saith, That the body of Christ is touched?"

"I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ."

"Thomas touched Christ, and said, 'Dominus meus, Deus meus,' 'my Lord, my God.'

"Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God."

[This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:

The argument not formal.

Da- As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.

ti- Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally:

si. Ergo, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.]

Cranmer :—"I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched."

God cannot be touched.

Chedsey :—"This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched."

"Tertullian saith, 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended: the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

"The flesh eateth the body of Christ."

"Ergo, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth."

Argument.

"Item Photius upon these words (1 Cor. xi.) 'Reus erit corporis et sanguinis,' etc.: 'Whereas he saith, Is guilty of the body and blood; this he

Photius alleged by Chedsey.

(1) "Videamus de propria christianī hominis forma, quanta huius substantiæ frivolæ et sordidæ apud Deum prærogativa sit. Etsi sufficeret illi, quod nulla omnino anima salutem posset adipisci, nisi dum est in carne crediderit: adeo caro salutis cardo est, de qua cum anima Deo alligatur, ipsa est quæ efficit ut anima alligari possit; sed et caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro ungitur, ut anima consecratur; signatur, ut anima muniatur; caro manūs impositione adumbratur, ut anima spiritu illuminetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima de Deo saginetur." Tertul. de Resurrectione Carnis, [cap. 8.—Ed.]

(2) Τὸ ἔσθωσιν τοῦ σώματος τοῦτο δηλοῖ, ὅτι καθάπερ παρέδωκε μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰουδᾶς, παρέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οὕτως ἅτιμα (οὐσιν) [αὐτὸν οἱ τὸ παράγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα χερσίν] ἀκαθάρτοι δεχομένης, ὥς Ἰουδαῖοι κρατοῦντες αὐτὸν τότε καὶ καταράται προσφέροντες σὸν σῶμα. Διὰ δὲ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλάκις τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου, δηλοῖ, ὅτι [οὐς]

Mary. declareth, that like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and, as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.

A.D. 1554. "Ergo (as it is hereby gathered), the body of Christ is touched with the hands."

Cranmer :—"You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First, I must answer Tertullian, and then the other."

Chedsey :—"They tend both to one meaning."

Answer
to Tertul-
lian.

Cranmer :—"Unto Tertullian I answer (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain), that he calleth that the flesh, which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and, last of all, the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ."

Weston
urgeth
Tertul-
lian.

Weston :—"Stick to those words of Tertullian,¹ 'The body eateth, that the soul may be fed.'"

Chedsey :—"The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith."

Weston :—"Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body."

Chedsey :—"He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed."

Cranmer :—"The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament."

Chedsey :—"Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?"

Inwardly
we eat the
body; out-
wardly
the sacra-
ment.

Cranmer :—"Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Chedsey :—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth."

"But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

"Ergo, The body eateth the flesh of Christ."

Cranmer :—"We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body: outwardly we eat the sacrament."

Chedsey :—"I will repeat the argument."

"The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith."

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body."

"Ergo, The flesh eateth the body of Christ."

Cranmer :—"The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ."

Chedsey :—"I prove, that we receive that outwardly, wherewith the soul is fed."

"The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

"Ergo, We eat the body of Christ outwardly."

"The flesh eateth Christ his body:

"Ergo, The soul is fed therewith."

Answer.

Cranmer :—"The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not 'inde,' 'thereof,' but 'de Deo,' 'of God.'"

ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ὁ θυόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ὁ Κύριος ὁ ποιητὴς πάντων, ὡς δῆθεν διὰ τούτων ἐκφοβῶν αὐτοὺς. I. e. 'Quod ait, Reus corporis et sanguinis, istud declarat, quod sicut Judas ipsum quidem tradidit, Judæi contumeliosè in ipsum insaniebant: sic ipsum inhonorant qui sanctissimum ipsum corpus impuris manibus suscipiunt, et tanquam Judæi ipsi tenent et execrabili ore recipiunt. Quod crebro mentionem facit corporis et sanguinis Domini, manifestat, quod non sit simplex homo qui sacrificatur, sed ipse Dominus omnium factor, tanquam per hæc quidem ipsos perterrefaciens." [This passage will be found "Apud Œcumen." tom. I. p. 532. Paris, 1631. Jenkyns.—Ed.]

(1) "Corpus vescitur, ut anima saginetur."

(2) The form of this argument which he repeateth, stood better before: for the form of this connexion answereth to none of the three figures of syllogisms.

Chedsey :—"What say you to Photius's saying? 'They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was.'" *Mary.*

Weston :—"That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where he saith,¹ 'They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together.' A. D. 1554.

"But manducation, is the work, or labour: ergo, etc.

"The form of this argument may be thus collected.

Da- "One work or labour joineth body and soul together.

ri- "Manducation is a work, or labour.

i. "Ergo, One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

"To the major of which argument,² thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, 'Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus.' Again, 'opera,' here, in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Cranmer :—"Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, 'De Resurrectione carnis,' i. e. 'Of the resurrection of the flesh:' and the meaning thereof is this. Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined, and he speaketh of signs."

Answer to Tertullian de Resurrect.

Weston :—"He speaketh of eating in a sign: ergo, the reward is in a sign."

Cranmer :—"They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament."

Weston :—"There are two works: ergo, there are two rewards.

"If the work be in a figure: ergo, the reward is in a figure."

Cranmer :—"He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, 'quos una opera conjungit,' i. e. 'whom one work joineth together;' but 'opera,' i. e. 'a work:' as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding."

Weston :—"The flesh and soul shall have one and the selfsame reward, because they have one work."

Cranmer :—"Because they be joined together in one work."

Tresham :—"Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, while we receive the eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon, in very deed, you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind: howbeit you would seem to think otherwise, by your subtle answers. But I will declare, by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For, disputing against the Arians, in his eighth book of the Trinity, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, 'That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only.' To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John,³ 'The Father and I are one:' the Arians answered, that 'unum sumus' was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds; not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary, going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *à fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: 'I demand of them now, who will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If,' saith he, 'the

Tresham disputeth.

(1) "Non possunt ergo separari in mercede, quos opera conjungit."

(2) As the body and soul are joined in the work of baptism, so are they joined in the communion of the Lord's supper. For as the flesh is washed with water, that the soul may be purged spiritually; so our body eateth the outward sacrament, that the soul may be fed of God.

(3) "Pater et Ego unum sumus."

Mary. word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who, being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own flesh unto the nature of eternity, under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated unto us? Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us?—according to faith, or according to nature?"

A.D.
1554.
Conjunction
between
Christ
and us.
Answer to
Hilary.

Cranmer :—" I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally; for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us."

Bucer.

Tresham :—" Bucer¹ referreth these words only to the eucharist, saying, 'Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper; and, according to the holy fathers,' saith Bucer, 'Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally. Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union (as you suppose), but also by a corporal and carnal union.'"

Cranmer :—" I know that master Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer."

Tresham :—" I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith; but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ: whereas you think, we are joined by it only through faith and love."

How
Christ is
united to
us.

Cranmer :—" I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed, also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church; when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

Tresham :—" I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion, in a perfect unity."

Cranmer :—" We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect."

Objection
of Hilary.

Tresham :—" We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one; but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: 'He had now declared afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.' And a little after that he writeth thus: 'This truly is the cause of our life; that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.' Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us."

Answer
to the
place of
Hilary.

Cranmer :—" Nay, Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism: and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism."

Weston :—" Repeat the argument."

Cranmer :—" You must first make an argument."

Argu-
ment.

Tresham :—" It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form :

Da- "As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh, live by the same flesh.

ti- "But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally."

si. "Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally."

Cranmer :—" We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed."

(1) Bucer contra Abrincensem. [Bucer wrote in answer to Robertus Senalis, bishop of Avranches; Defensio contra criminationem Rob. Episcop. Abrin. de Eucharistia, &c. 8vo. Argentinae, 1534. See also Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 616. Basilæ, 1577. Jenkyns, p. 41, and Possevinus apparatus Sacror. tom. ii. p. 345.—Ed.]

*Mary.**A. D.
1554.*

Tresham :—" Nay, naturally ;¹ I prove it thus :

" As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us.

" But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally.

" Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love (as you suppose), but naturally."

Cranmer :—" The minor is not true."

Tresham :—" This is the opinion of Arius—that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally."

Cranmer :—" I say not so yet, neither do I think so : but I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You say, 'that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love :' but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith."

Weston :—" Mark and consider well this word, 'by faith,' lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

Tresham :—" Let that word, 'by faith,' be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force ; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant a union in deade. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness."

Weston :—" We came hither, to dispute, and not to pray."

Tresham :—" Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?"

Weston :—" It is not lawful yet.—But proceed."

Tresham :—" Again, I reason thus : As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh."

" But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally :

" Ergo, We do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally."

Cranmer :—" This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture ; Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ."

Weston :—" Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved."

The same
argument
again
repeated.
Answer.

Cranmer :—" This is the argument :

" As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us.

" But Christ liveth by his Father not only in unity of will, but naturally.

" Ergo, We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

" But the major is false ; namely, that, by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father."

Weston :—" Hilary saith, 'after the same manner,' upon these words, 'He that eateth my flesh shall live by me.' Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, and, as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh. Here you see, that Hilary saith, 'after the same manner.' "

Cranmer :—" 'After the same manner,' doth not signify alike in all things,

(1) The papists by this one word "naturally," confound themselves: for if the natural body of Christ were eaten, and went naturally into our bodies, then should it follow, that the nature of his body being immaculate, and now also immortal, our bodies united in nature to his pure and immortal body, naturally should never sin nor die. Wherefore it remaineth, that the natural uniting to Christ's body, cometh not by the bodily eating of the sacrament, unto our body, but to our soul, and so shall redound at length unto our bodies. If that union of the substance of flesh should be granted unto our bodies, then should our bodies never die, nor see corruption.

(2) Christ, not after his manhood, but after his divine nature, liveth naturally by his Father, which divine nature of his worketh also in his manhood an immortality : so our spirit and soul, receiving the natural body of Christ in the mysteries, by faith do receive also the nature of his body ; that is, his pureness, justification, and life : the operation whereof redounding likewise unto our bodies, doth make the same also capable of the same glory and immortality. And thus it is true, that as Christ liveth naturally by his Father, so we live naturally by the body of Christ eaten in the mysteries, having respect both to the manhood of him and us. For as the flesh of Christ, in respect of bare flesh, liveth not naturally by the Father, but for that it is joined to his divinity : so our flesh liveth not naturally by Christ's body eaten in the sacrament (for then every wicked man eating the sacrament should live naturally by him), but for that our flesh is joined to the spirit and soul, which truly eateth the body of Christ by faith : and so only the bodies of the faithful do live by eating the body of Christ naturally, in participating the natural properties of the body of Christ.

Mary. but indeed and eternally : for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ."

A. D.
1554.

Weston :—" He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally."

" Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer :—" We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature ; as Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him."

Weston :—" I stick to this word 'naturally.'"

Cranmer :—" I mean it, touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father, than we live by Christ."

Naturally
expound-
ed.

Weston :—" Hilary in his eighth book 'de Trinitate,' denieth it, when he saith, ' He liveth therefore by his Father ; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh.'"

Cranmer :—" We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ : for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him."

Weston :—" Answer unto the parts of the argument."

The argu-
ment the
third time
re-
peated.

" As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh."

" But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally."

" Ergo, We, eating of his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally."

Cranmer :—" I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally : but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only."

Weston :—" Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith : ' These things are recited of us to this end, because the hereticks, feigning a unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God ; as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.'

" But answer to the argument,—Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally : therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer :—" Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature : he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary.¹ And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally² in him, and in the Father ; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father ; even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life."

Weston :—" Hilary, where he saith, ' Christ communicated to us his nature,' meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the sacrament."

Cranmer :—" He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity."

Weston :—" We have communicated to him our flesh³ when he was born."

Cranmer :—" Nay, he communicated to us his flesh, when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, ' Et homo factus est.'"

Weston :—" Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his flesh."

Cranmer :—" In his nativity he made us partakers of his flesh."⁴

Weston :—" Write, sir."

Cranmer :—" Yea, write."

Chedsey
again dis-
puteth.

Chedsey :—" This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose :⁵ ' If Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily

(1) Ex exemplari manu Cranmeri descripto.

(2) "Naturally," is here expounded; that is, our bodies to partipate the nature and properties of Christ's holy immortal body.

(3) Then had Christ a sinful flesh.

(4) That is, made us partakers of the properties, life, innocency, and resurrection of his body.

(5) Hilary. 8. de Trinit.

born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us), how shall that be called the unity of will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament, of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.—Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set ‘verò sub mysterio,’ for ‘verè sub mysterio,’ ‘we receive truly under a mystery.’ Hilary thrice reporteth ‘verè sub mysterio,’ and you interpret it twice ‘verè sub mysterio,’ but, the third time, you have ‘vero’ for ‘verè.’”

Mary.

A.D.
1554.Thus far
was their
talk in
English.

Cranmer:—“Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had ‘sub vero mysterio,’ i.e. under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God, I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred.”

Weston:—“Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary,¹ the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris.”

Cranmer:—“I suppose that Dr. Smith’s book hath ‘vero.’”

Weston:—“Here is Dr. Smith: let him answer for himself.—Master Smith, master Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it.”

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonished with Dr. Weston’s hasty calling, staid to answer: for he only put off his cap, and kept silence.

See
Appendix.

Weston:—“But your own book,² printed by Wolf your own printer, hath ‘vero.’”

Cranmer:—“That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the Book of Decrees hath ‘vero.’”

Cole:—“Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you.”

Cranmer:—“Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter.”

Weston:—“No is? ‘pastor,’ as you know, signifieth a bishop, and ‘pistor,’ signifieth a baker. But ‘pastor’ shall be ‘pistor,’ a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if ‘verè’ and ‘vero’ do nothing change the sense.”

Cranmer:—“Let it be so, that in ‘pistor’ and ‘pastor’ one letter maketh some difference: yet let ‘pistor’ be either a baker or maker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense.”

Young:—“This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, ‘Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute.’ Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?”

Young
cometh in
with his
Socratical
interro-
gations.

Cranmer:—“There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body.”

(1) Seeing master Cranmer had twice “verè,” and but once “vero,” they had no cause to be grieved: but that they were disposed to find a knot in a rush.

(2) There were Editions of Paris, 1510, and of Basle, 1523 and 1550, prefaced by Erasmus. The passage in debate occurs in the treatise “de Trinitate,” lib. viii. § 13.—Ed.

(3) The ‘book’ referred to must be Cranmer’s Answer to Gardiner, printed by Wolf in 1551; in which the original passage from Hilary is cited with the true reading, ‘verè.’—Jenkyns. From a previous note of Mr. Jenkyns it appears that Cranmer had been led into the mistake “vero,” by the pages, not of an impugnor but a defender of the corporal presence; namely by Gardiner, in his Detection of the devil’s Sophistry, 1546.—Ed.

(4) Here Dr. Cole beginneth to carp.

- Mary.* Young :—"Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?"
- A. D. 1554.* Cranmer :—"They ought."
- Young :—"Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?"
- Cranmer :—"Yea, he is most true, and truth itself."
- Young :—"Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?"
- Cranmer :—"In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples."
- Young :—"Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man, which he spake, when he said, 'This is my body?'"
- Cranmer :—"This is a sophistical cavillation: go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtileness: leave your crafty fetches."
- Young :—"I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?"
- Cranmer :—"He did institute the sacrament."
- Young :—"But answer, whether did he work any thing?"
- Cranmer :—"He did work in instituting the sacrament."
- Young :—"Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech."
- "But a figure worketh nothing:
- "Ergo, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory."
- Cranmer :—"I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting."
- Young :—"Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiver. Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing?"
- Cranmer :—"He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect."
- Fes-* Young :—"A figurative speech is no working thing.
ti- "But the speech of Christ is working:
no. "Ergo, It is not figurative."
- Cranmer :—"It worketh by instituting, not by converting."
- Young :—"The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not in that sacrament?"
- Cranmer :—"It is; for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.'"
- Weston :—"Stick to this argument.
- "It is a figurative speech.
- "Ergo, It worketh nothing."
- Young :—"But the speech of Christ is a working thing:
- "Ergo, It is not figurative."
- Cranmer :—"Oh how many crafts are in this argument? they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech."
- Weston :—"If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ."
- Cranmer :—"A figurative speech worketh not."
- Weston :—"A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.
- "But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.
- "Ergo, The speech of Christ in the supper, was not figurative."
- Cranmer :—"I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations."
- Young :—"Are not these words of Scripture, 'This is my body?' The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, 'This is my body:' ergo, he made it."
- Cranmer :—"He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument."
- Young :—"If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, 'This is

Young's
sophistical in-
terroga-
tories.

Answer
to Young
by Au-
gustine.

What
worketh
in the sa-
crament.

(1) "Dicendo dixit, non fecit dicendo; sed fecit discipulis sacramentum."
(2) This syllogism, speaking of a figure, hath no perfect form or figure.

my body.' You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith."

Cranmer :—" You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

Young :—" Ambrose saith :¹ 'Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are, into that they were not? for it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the order of nature,² a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when, against the order of nature, the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is called blood. And thou sayest, Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.'

"The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments, chap. iv., saith thus :³ 'This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore. How can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded,⁴ and heaven was made: the Lord commanded, and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made: the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Dost thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be, which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to work, that these

(1) "De totius mundi operibus legisti, quia ipse dixit, et facta sunt, ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Sermo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quæ sunt in id mutare quæ non erant? Non enim minus est novas res dare, quam mutare naturas. Sed quid argumenta nitimur? suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Nunquid naturæ usus præcessit cum Dominus Jesus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem querimus, viro mixta femina generare consuevit; Idque igitur quod præter naturam ordinem virgo generavit: et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine est. Quid hic queris naturæ ordinem in Christi corpore, cum præter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quæ crucifixa est, quæ sepulta est: Verò ergo illius sacramentum est. Clamat Dominus Jesus: Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis uncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat." Amb. De his qui inquantur, etc. cap. 9. [The treatises of Ambrose here cited are generally considered spurious, or that they are much interpolated. See an excellent note in Mr. Jenkyns's edition of Cranmer's Works, vol. II. page 336; also, Walchii Biblioth. Patriæ. (Jenæ, 1834), p. 297.—Ed.]

(2) As Christ Jesus was conceived against the order of nature: so in the instituting of this sacrament the order of nature is not to be sought.

(3) "Panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur adstruimus; quomodo potest qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratio? Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, et cuius sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam ad reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo deferitur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris; ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos utitur, sed sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. Quis sermo? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia. Jussit Dominus et factum est cælum; jussit Dominus et facta est terra; jussit Dominus et facta sunt maria, etc. Vides ergo quàm operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone Domini, ut inciperent esse quæ non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur."

(4) But the Lord Jesus here used not such words of commanding in the sacrament, as in the creation: for we read not, "Fiat hoc corpus meum," as we read, "Fiat lux," &c.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Mary things which were, should be changed into another thing? Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work."

A. D. 1554. *Weston* :—" You omit those words which follow, which make the sense of Ambrose plain : read them."

Young :—" Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not : but hear him that said, He spake the word, and they were made ; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration : but after the consecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ."

Cranmer :—" All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments."

Young :—" How doth he work ?"

Cranmer :—" By his power, as he doth in baptism."

Young :—" Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth : acknowledge the truth ; give place to the truth."

Cranmer :—" O glorious words ! You are too full of words."

Young :—" Nay, O glorious truth !—You make no change at all."

Cranmer :—" Not so, but I make a great change ; as, in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondslave of the devil, is made the Son of God ? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour."

Young :—" If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament."

Cranmer :—" God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments."

Weston :—" In the supper the words are directed to the bread ; in baptism to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit, but of the bread he said, ' This is my body. '

Cranmer :—" He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove."

*See
Appendix.*

Weston :—" He doth not call the Spirit a dove ; but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread."

As the
dove is
called the
Spirit, so
the bread
is called
the body.

Cranmer :—" Nay it is written, ' Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending. ' He calleth that which descended, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove, the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i. ' What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost ? forsooth to teach, who sent him. ' "

" Hear
what
Ambrose
saith."

Young :—" He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove : the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith : ' You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work that those things that were, should be changed into another thing ? ' And in the fifth chapter, ' Before it is consecrated, it is bread : but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ. ' But, hear what he saith more : ' Take ye, eat ye ; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water : when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people. ' What can be more plain ? "

Answer to
f. Ambrose.

Cranmer :—" Nay, what can be less to the purpose ? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism."

Pie :—" The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work ?—Ambrose saith, ' They make the blood which redeemed the people. ' "

(1) "Cælum non erat, mare non erat, terra non erat. Sed audi dicentem, ipse dixit et facta sunt, ipse mandavit et creata sunt. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem : sed post consecrationem dico tibi quid jam corpus Christi est." Amb. de Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(2) John i.

(3) "Quid voluit per columbam, id est, per Spiritum Sanctum ? docere, qui miserat eum."

(4) "Vides quam operatorius sit sermo Christi. Si ergo tanta vis in sermone Domini, &c., ut supra." De Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(5) "Antequam consecratur, panis est : ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi." Idem, lib. iv. cap. 5.

(6) "Accipite, edite, etc. : hoc est corpus meum. Ante verba Christi, calix est vini et aquæ plenus : ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis efficitur, qui redemit plebem." Idem, lib. iv. cap. 5.

(a) Ἀλλοίωσις rerum et symbolorum,

"Ergo, The natural blood is made."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Pie.—"There is made the blood which redeemed the people."

Cranmer.—"The blood is made; that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. Fit, 'it is made;' that is to say, 'ostenditur,' 'it is showed forth there.' And Ambrose saith, We receive in a similitude: 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

*See
Appendix*

Weston.—"He saith, 'in a similitude,' because it is ministered under another likeness.¹ And this is the argument:

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

"But the natural blood redeemed the people:

"Ergo, There is the natural blood of Christ."

"You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter.² 'Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I, who see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life; whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain: therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but in deede thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature.'"

Cranmer.—"These words of themselves are plain enough. [And he read this place again, 'Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude.'] But what is that he saith, 'Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood.'"

*Answer to
Ambrose.*

Chedsey.—"That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith, in his fourth book of Sacraments: 'If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ, and that wine and water is put into that cup; but, by consecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood;' so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer.—"He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things; for he useth the signs for the things signified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith,³ 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

*Answer to
the place
of Ambrose*

(1) Mark how Weston expoundeth to eat in a similitude.

(2) If this syllogism be in the second figure (as by standing of the terms appeareth), then is it false, because it concludeth affirmatively.

(3) "Forte dicas, quomodo vera? qui similitudinem video, non video sanguinis veritatem. Primum omnium dixi tibi de sermone Christi, qui operatur, ut possit mutare et convertere genera instituta naturæ. Deinde ubi non tulerunt sermonem discipuli ejus, sed audientes, quod carnem suam dedit manducari, et sanguinem suum dedit bibendum, recedebant; solus tamen Petrus dixit, Verba vitæ æterna habes, et ego à te quod recedam? Ne igitur plures hoc dicerent, veluti quidam esset horror cruoris, sed maneret gratia redemptionis, ideo in similitudinem quidem accipis sacramentum, sed verè naturæ gratiam virtutemque consequeris."—Amb. lib. vi. cap. i. de Sacramentis.

(4) "Si operatus est sermo cœlestis in aliis rebus, non operatur in sacramentis cœlestibus? Ergo didicisti quod è pane corpus fiat Christi, et quod vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur, sed fit sanguis consecratione verbi cœlestis. Sed forte dicas, speciem sanguinis non videri. Sed habet similitudinem. Sicut enim mortis similitudinem sumpsisti, ita etiam similitudinem preciosi sanguinis bibis, ut nullus horror cruoris sit, et pretium tamen operetur redemptionis. Didicisti ergo, quia quod accipis corpus est Christi."—Amb. de Sacrament. lib. iv.

(5) Note, that Ambrose saith, we drink a similitude of Christ's blood.

(6) In ejus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis ad tuitionem corporis et animæ nostræ

Mary. he saith,¹ 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

A. D. 1554. *Chedsey* :—"A type? He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign: but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign."

Cranmer :—"This is new learning; you shall never read this among the fathers."

Chedsey :—"But Ambrose saith so."

Cranmer :—"He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit."

Weston :—"Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit; that is, of redemption: not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood."

Cranmer :—"He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ's blood."

Argument.

Da- Chedsey :—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament."

ri- "But Christ is really and truly incarnate:

i. "Ergo, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

Cranmer :—"I deny the major."

Chedsey :—"I prove the major out of Justin, in his second Apology, 'Ὁν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιήσας Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπερ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτω καὶ τῇδε' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστήσας τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιήσαντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα διδδύχθημεν εἶναι.'"

Answer to the place of Justin.

Cranmer :—"This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius.¹ Justin meant nothing else, but that the bread which nourisheth us is called the body of Christ."

Chedsey :—"To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, etc. ut supra."

Cranmer :—"I deny your major."

Chedsey :—"The words of Justin are thus to be interpreted word for word:² 'As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had flesh and blood for our salvation; so we have learned, that the meat consecrated³ by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion,⁴ is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh.'"

Answer.

Cranmer :—"You have translated it well; but I deny your major. This is the sense of Justin: that that bread is called the body of Christ; and yet that of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished."

Chedsey :—"Nay, he saith, that of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished."

Cranmer :—"He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood?"⁵

Cole :—"It feedeth the body by the soul."

Cranmer :—"Speak uprightly, man. Can that which is received by the soul and the spirit be called the meat of the body?"

Irenæus.

Weston :—"Hear therefore what Irenæus saith:⁶ 'The same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joined to it the word of

percepimus.—Ambros. in 1 Cor. xi. [Erasmus questioned the genuineness of this commentary; and later writers have generally considered it spurious. See Ed. Bened. tom. ii. App. p. 21. Jenkyns, p. 59.—Ed.]

(1) "' Marcus Constantius' was the fictitious name under which Gardiner published his 'Confutatio Cavillationum,' etc. The following is his translation: 'Cibum illum, ex quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per mutationem nutriuntur, postquam per verbum precationis fuerit ab eodem benedictus, edocti sumus esse carnem et sanguinem filius Jesu, qui pro nobis fuit incarnatus.' Peter Martyr's complaint against it is, that the clause 'Ex quo, etc., nutriuntur,' is transposed, to avoid the inference which may be drawn from the original expression of Justin, 'that the bread and wine, after consecration as well as before, nourish our bodies by the ordinary process of digestion.'—"Gardiner Confutat." object. 151; Peter Martyr, "De Eucharist." p. 311. Jenkyns, p. 60.—Ed.

(2) Quomodo per verbum Dei caro factus Jesus Christus, Salvator noster, carnem habuit et sanguinem pro salute nostra: sic et cibum illum consecratum per sermonem precationis ab ipso institutus, quo sanguis carnesque nostræ per communionem nutriuntur, ejusdem Jesu, qui caro factus est, carnem et sanguinem esse accepimus."

(3) Of thanksgiving.

(4) Mutation.

(5) Αἷμα καὶ σάρκες, i.e. blood and flesh.

(6) "Eum calicem, qui est creatura, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora. Quando et mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia."

God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.

Mar.

"The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ:

A. D.

"Ergo, Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ."

1554.

Cranmer :—"I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood; as Tertullian also saith :¹ 'Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental bread; but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ.'"

Irenæus answered by Tertullian.

Weston :—"Look what he saith more:² 'How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ? That is in the fifth book, two leaves from the beginning.'"

Cranmer :—"The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ : with the sacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Christ to eternal life."

Chedsey :—"I cannot chuse but be sorry, when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For whereas you translate³ Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out peculiarly for this; namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks 'eucharistia,' that is, thanksgiving—they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it)—the words of Justin are thus : 'We are taught that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus who was made flesh.'"

Cranmer :—"I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I go nothing from his meaning."

Cranmer purgeth himself.

Harpfield :—"Your mastership remembereth, touching Justin, to whom this apology was written; namely, to a heathen man. The heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to worship bread: Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, etc., as is said afore. Weigh the place well; it is right worthy to be noted : 'Our flesh is nourished according to mutation.'"

Cranmer :—"We ought not to consider the bare bread, but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ."⁴

Weston :—"You have corrupted Emissene;⁵ for instead of 'cibis satiandus,' that is, 'to be filled with meat,' you have set 'cibis satiandus spiritualibus,' that is, 'to be filled with spiritual meats.'"

Cranmer :—"I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the decrees."

Weston :—"You have corrupted another place of Emissene; for you have omitted these words, 'Mirare cum reverendum altare cibis spiritualibus satiandus ascendis : sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice, honorem mirare, merito continget,' etc. 'Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him.'"

Cranmer :—"This book hath not that."⁶

Weston :—"Also you have falsified this place by evil translating 'Honora corpus Dei tui,' i.e. 'Honour the body of thy God.' You have translated it, 'Honora eum qui eat Deus tuus,' i.e. 'Honour him which is thy God.' Whereas Emissene hath not 'honour him,' but 'honour the body of thy God.'"

Cranmer charged with false translating.

Cranmer :—"I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus: 'Honour the body of thy God;' because of certain that (according to the error of the Anthropomorphites) dreamed that God had a body."

Purgeth himself.

(1) "Nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi."

(2) "Quomodo carnem negant capaces esse donationis Dei quæ est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur? Irenæus, lib. v., post duo folia à principio," [lib. v. cap. 2, p. 398, edit. Oxon. 1702.]

See Appendix.

(3) Note that the archbishop here did not translate the words of Justin, but only gather the effect of his meaning.

(4) In eating the sacrament, no bread is considered; but only the true body of Christ. Consecrat. dist. 2. "Quia."

(5) See Cranmer's translation of Emissene, vol. ii. p. 323; also the original, among the authorities in the Appendix: from a comparison of which it will appear that the charge of corruption was unfounded. See Jenkyns.—Ed.

(6) The original fully justifies Cranmer's assertion; it is strange that Weston, in the very act of charging another with false quotation, should himself be so audacious as to substitute "merito continget" for "merito continget." See Jenkyns.—Ed.

- Mary.** *Weston* :—" Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, who so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for a heretic, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.
- A. D. 1554.** " Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.
 " But God the Father hath no right hand :
 " Ergo, Where is Christ now ?"
Cranmer :—" I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father."
Argument. *Weston* :—" Now then take this argument.
 " Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body.
 " But God's authority is in every place :
 " Ergo, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every place.—Moreover you have also corrupted Duns."
Cranmer charged with mis-translating Duns. *Cranmer* :—" That is a great offence, I promise you."
Weston :—" For you have omitted ' secundum apparentiam,'¹ i. e. ' as it appeareth : ' whereas his words are these, ' Et si queras quare voluit ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem hujus articuli, cum verba Scripturæ possint salvari secundum intellectum facilem et veriorem, secundum apparentiam, de hoc articulo,' etc. : that is, ' If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an understanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture may be saved after an easy and true understanding (as appeareth) of this article,' " etc.
Cranmer :—" It is not so."
Challenged for setting forth the Catechism, etc. *Weston* :—" Also you have set forth a catechism² in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, which, witnessing that they were of the number of that convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism.
Cranmer :—" I was ignorant of the setting to of that title ; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."
Purgeth himself. *Weston* :—" Moreover, you have in Duns translated ' in Romana ecclesia,' ' pro ecclesia catholica : ' ' in the church of Rome,' ' for the catholic church.' "
Cranmer :—" Yea ; but he meant the Romish church."
Charged with mis-translating Aquinas. *Weston* :—" Moreover you have depraved St. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words :³ ' Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction : but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed, than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said, in Luke's gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' You have thus turned it :⁴ ' That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,' etc. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word, ' sacerdotis,' ' of the priest ; ' whereas, in the translation of all the New Testament, you have not set it but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath ' pro omni poena ' ' for all pain,' your book omitteth many things there. Thus you see, brethren, the truth steadfast and invincible. You see, also, the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed : therefore cry altogether, ' Vincit veritas,' i. e. ' The truth overcometh.' "
- See Appendix.**
- Weston triumpheth before the victory.**

This disordered disputation sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being

(1) This is not true ; but the accuracy of his translation is rather doubtful. See Jenkyns, note, page 64.—Ed.

(2) See a note of Jenkyns upon this subject.—Ed.

(3) " In quantum vero est sacrificium, habet vim satisfactivam : sed in satisfactione attenditur magis affectio offerentis, quam quantitas oblationis. Unde Dominus dicit apud Lucam de vidua quæ obtulit duo ara, quod plus omnibus misit. Quamvis ergo hæc oblatio ex sui quantitate sufficiat ad satisfaciendum pro omni poena : tamen fit satisfactoria illis pro quibus offertur, vel etiam offerentibus, secundum quantitatem suæ devotionis, et non pro tota poena."

(4) " Quod sacrificium sacerdotis habet vim satisfactivam," etc.

finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of master Say, the prisoner was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

DISPUTATION AT OXFORD BETWEEN DR. SMITH, WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES AND DOCTORS, AND BISHOP RIDLEY.

The next day following, which was the 17th of April, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr. Smith, forsomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in king Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle and judge.

Smith set
to dispute
against
Ridley.
*See
Appendix*

The true Copy of a certain Epistle of Dr. Richard Smith to Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his Affection to the setting-forth of God's sincere Word.

Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in January last and the 10th day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your grace over the sea; and desiring your good lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtain in writing the king's majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write "*De Sacerdotum Connubiis*," etc. a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita persuadeat] ut ea citra conscientiae læsionem agnoscam, doceamque.* I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm, is dishonour to the king's highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of common places against all the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

Dr. Smith
purposing
to write
for the
marriage
of priests

Ex urbe divi Andreae. 14. Feb.

Rich. Smitheus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr. Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, and Dr. Cole, master Ward, master Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, master Pie, master Harding, master Curton, master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drave off

Disputers
against
Ridley.

Mary. the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they
A. D. would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing
1554. at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

See
 Appendix.

The Disputation beginneth.

Weston the prolocutor :—" Good christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

The questions.

Dr. Smith :—" This day, right learned master doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit;

" First, Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, etc.

" Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, etc.

" Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, etc.

" Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question—whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

(The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.)

" I received of you the other day, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

" Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God (and that how soon, he knoweth), and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your worship, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient faithful fathers.

" These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

What moved Ridley to alter his judgment from the church of Rome.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that, which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books: therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

Weston :—"Reverend master doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley :—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published: I beseech you for God's sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

Weston :—"Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley :—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

Weston :—"Here are two that master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Ridley :—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."

The First Proposition.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood are really present under the forms of bread and wine.

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley :—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

The proposition put forth in dark terms.

(The Explication.)

Ridley :—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men), to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter."

First doubt.

(1) This promise was not kept.

(2) These two notaries were master Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury, and master Gilbert Mounson.

- Mary.* it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.
- A. D. 1554.*
- Second doubt.* "Again there is a doubt of these words 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.
- Third doubt.* "It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more."
- Weston* :—"Let this be sufficient."
- Ridley* :—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."
- Weston* :—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."
- Ridley* :—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."
- Weston* :—"Fall to it, my masters."
- Smith* :—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."
- Ridley* :—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."
- Weston* :—"Go forward."
- Fourth doubt.* *Ridley* :—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be taken as the logicians term it, 'transcendenter;' that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper (as in disputation, if occasion be given shall be declared), or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.
- Fifth doubt.* "There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."
- The proposition erroneous after the sense of the Romish church. Transubstantiation not founded in Scripture.*
- Weston* :—"We lose time."
- Ridley* :—"You shall have time enough."
- Weston* :—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."
- Appendix.* *Ridley* :—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."
- Weston* :—"Go to; say on."
- (The Confirmation of the aforesaid Answer.)
- Argument* *Fes-* *Ridley* :—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.
- ti-* "But this doctrine of the first proposition is such:
- no.* "Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.
- "The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus:

"This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

"But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities:

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:—

Weston :—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments."

Smith :—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in John vi., there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley :—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston :—"Let him read on."

Ridley :—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

(The Probation of the antecedent or former part of this Argument by the parts thereof.)

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, thus:—
 'I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.'¹ 'Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken.'² 'The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning.'³ 'But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice.'⁴ 'I will come again and take you to myself.'⁵ 'If they shall say unto you, Behold here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for whosoever the dead carcase is, thither the eagles will resort.'⁶

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place saith St. Augustine), he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, 'A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.'

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

The real presence disagreeeth from Scripture.

Weston again interrupteth Ridley.

Seven inconveniences come of the real presence.

The seven inconveniences declared by parts.

1. The real presence against the Scripture.

2. Against the articles of the faith.

3. It destroyeth the institution of the Lord's supper.

4. It profaneth, etc.

(1) John xvi.

(4) John xvi.

(2) Acts iii.

(5) John xiv.

(3) Matt. ix.

(6) Matt. xxiv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless, mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the 'Anthrophophagi,' that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him."¹

*See
Addenda.*

Pie :—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley :—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston :—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, master doctor."

Ridley :—"I have not many things more to say."

Weston :—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

5. It maintaineth monstrous miracles without necessity.

Ridley :—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without all necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, in the stead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mouldeth, and worms breed thereof, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it.² Other some affirm, that the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide only so long as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O workers of wonders! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, 'Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth.'³ This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.⁴

6. It giveth occasion to heretics.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutiches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

7. It falsifieth the sayings of the old doctors.

"Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius Emisene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostome, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

The faith and confession of Ridley in affirming the true presence in the sacrament.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists), that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

St. Paul.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

(1) The "Anthrophophagi," are a kind of brutish people that feed on man's flesh.

(2) All the rest that followeth was not read, because the prolocutor made post-haste to the arguments.

(3) Thess. ii.

(4) By this device of concomitance, the papists imagine as much to be received under one kind as both.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

"I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostome; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely (as he writeth), because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ."

Marty.

A. D.
1554.

Cyprian.

Augustine.
Emissene.
Athanasius.
Hilary.
Cyril.Basil.
Ambrose.
Epiphanius.
Jerome.
Chrysostome,
etc.

Bertram.

The Second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man :

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley :—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore, to the answer of the first proposition."

Transsubstantiation
denied.

(The First Argument for the confirmation of this Answer.)

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man :

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus :

Da- "That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

ti- "But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread :

si- "Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to show most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

(A rule of logic for confirmation of the Argument.)

See
Addenda.

"Bread is the body of Christ :

"Ergo, It is bread."

A tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens cum verbi substantivi pura copula.¹

(1) The rule of logic is this : "A propositione de tertio adjacente, ad eam quæ est de secundo cum verbo recto significante existentiam, valet consequentia affirmativæ," etc.

Mary.

(The Second Argument.)

*A. D.
1554.*

Ba- "As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body.

ro- "But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation :

co. "Ergo ; It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

The
major
proved.

"The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus : As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you,' speaking there of his natural body : even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, 'We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread.'"

(The Third Argument.)

The argu-
ment
holdeth.

"We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiated into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

"But the wine is not transubstantiated into his blood :

"Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiated into his body."

Chrysos-
tome.
Cyprian.

"The first part of this argument is manifest ; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God's word, in Matthew and Mark, 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine,' etc." Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostome on Matt. xx. : as Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

(The Fourth Argument.)

Ba- "The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

ro- "But the words spoken upon the cup, have not virtue to transubstantiate :

co. "Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread, have no such virtue."

"The second part of the argument is proved ; because they would then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

(The Fifth Argument.)

Da- "The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

ti- "But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper :

si. "Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, 'This is my body.'

The cir-
cum-
stances
and
words of
Scripture.

"The circumstances of the Scripture : 'Do this in remembrance of me.' 'As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death.' 'Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup.' 'They came together to break bread ; and they continued in breaking of bread.' 'The bread which we break, etc.' 'For we being many, are all one bread and one body, etc.'"

The ana-
logy of
the sacra-
ments.

"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary : for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways :

Analogy
in three
ways.

"The first consisteth in nourishing ; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Ireneus, and, most plainly, in Bertram out of Isidore [§ 40].

"The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

"The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body ; so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

(1) 1 Cor. x.

(3) Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

(4) This argument holdeth after the same rule as did the other before.

(2) "A destructione antecedentia, ad destructionem consequentia."

"The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostome,¹ Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostome (to Cæsarius the monk), Augustine (against Adamantius), Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostome again (on Matthew xx.), Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

The sayings for the figurative speech.

"Here, right worshipful master prolocutor and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

Commendation of Bertram.

Ridley first brought to the knowledge of the sacrament by Bertram.

The Third Proposition.

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiable and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead

(The Answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

(The Explication.)

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor 'poenitentes' to be sent away."

Doubts in the third proposition.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper), or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiable,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

(1) In *Opere imperfecto*. [In Matth. cap. v. hom. xi. tom. vi. p. 796. edit. 1837.]

(2) In the primitive church the newly instructed in the faith and unworthy, were put away from the communion

Mary
A. D.
1554.
The falseness of the third proposition proved. But one sacrifice in the Scripture.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shows of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas, by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin."

(Arguments confirming his Answer.)

- Ce-* "No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.¹
la- "All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:
rent. "Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

Fe- "No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.

ri- "It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:

son. "Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

"But only Christ is called to that honour:

"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek.² But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

(Another Argument.)

Ba- "That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is, wherefore it is done.

ro- "To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:

co. "Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

(Another Argument.)

Fe- "After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.³

ri. "But Christ coming a high bishop, etc., found and obtained for us eternal redemption:

o. "Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."⁴

(Another Argument.)

Ca- "All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

mea- "In the mass there is no shedding of blood:

tres. "Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

(Another Argument.)

"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the

(1) Heb. v.

(2) Heb. vii.

(3) Heb. ix.

(4) Ab una causa veritatis ad præpositionem habentem illam causam valet consequentia.

apostle saith, 'Not that he might offer up himself often times (for then must he have suffered often times since the beginning of the world).¹ Now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice :

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice : 'For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment : even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation.'"

(Another Argument.)

Da- "Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

ri- "But in the new testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever :

i. "Ergo, In the new testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose ; out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

" 'By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.' And in the same place, 'But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God,' etc. 'For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified ;' and, 'By himself hath he purged our sins.'"

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

" 'He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.'"²

"Mark, I beseech you ; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

" 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins ; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.'"⁴

"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts : the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a showing-forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places ; likewise by Eusebius Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostome, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord ; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world ; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed ; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour : and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross ; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

The popish distinction between bloody and unbloody sacrifice.

The papists maintain their sacrifice propitiatory, by the old doctors falsely wrested.

The whole substance of the sacrifice, wherein it consisteth.

(1) Heb. ix.

(2) Heb. x.

(3) Col. i

(4) 1 John ii.

Marg.

A. D.
1554.

Ridley appealeth from the unjust sentence of his adversaries, to some other superior, competent judge. Ridley, for lack of equal indifference, appealeth to almighty God.

"These are the things, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal judge, that is, of the almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory, Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced; I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him.

(Dr. Smith beginneth to oppose.)

Smith:—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me seemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal.

Argument.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Answer.

Ridley:—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also."¹

Smith:—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Ridley:—"Of Christ's real presence, there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But, if you mean a real presence, 'secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet;' i. e. according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston:—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley:—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

(1) The verity of Ridley's answer touching the real being of Christ in earth to be restrained by his ascending and abiding in heaven, standeth upon the necessity which we call "necessitas consequentis," by this demonstration.

Da- Every natural body must necessarily be continued in his peculiar and certain place.

ri- Christ's body is a natural body:

i. Ergo, Christ's body not to be in one certain place at once contained, it is impossible, according to the rule, "Omnes propositiones de impossibili et de necesse æquipollent dicto dissimiliter se habent, et modo similiter."

Smith :—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven, is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Ridley :—"Master doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith :—"Mark, I pray you, my masters, that be here diligently, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then, afterward, he flieth from it again."

Ridley :—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

Smith :—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley :—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith :—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."

Smith :—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed of it hereafter."

Smith :—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"I grant the antecedent; but I deny the consequence."

Smith :—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley :—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," etc.

Smith :—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

Ridley :—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith :—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Ridley :—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Austin saith: 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his

Christ cannot be both corporally here, and corporally also in heaven at one time.
See Addenda.

(1) Christ's abode in heaven is no let for him to appear on earth when he will: but whether he will, that must be proved. Again, it is one thing to appear on earth, another still in the sacrament, and to be present the same time with his body in heaven, when he is bodily present in earth.

(2) "Corpus Christi est in coelo, sed veritas ejus ubique diffusa est."

Mary. perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

A. D. 1554. *Smith.*—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consummation of the world."

Weston.—"I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," etc. —

Ridley.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostome: 'Do we not offer every day? we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, be there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

"We offer one thing at all times.

Argument. "There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostome, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

Answer. *Ridley.*—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston.—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley.—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

Weston.—"One body, saith Chrysostome."

Answer to Chrysostome. *Ridley.*—"But not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'hic' and 'illic,' 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostome do assign no place; as Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.'"

Weston.—"You cannot so escape. He saith not the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley.—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston.—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostome saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Sacrifice, why it is called one. *Ridley.*—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there: Christ by his spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant¹ with Chrysostome, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples.

How one Christ is offered in many places at once. "And whereas you allege out of Chrysostome, that Christ is offered in many places at once (both here full Christ, and there full Christ), I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostome here speaketh, he himself doth clearly show what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'"

(1) "Nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed recordationem facientes mortis ejus. Et una est hæc hostia, non multæ. Et quomodo una, et non multæ, quæ semel oblata est in sancto sanctorum? Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius; id ipsum semper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, crastinus alium, sed semper eundem ipsum. Proinde unum est hoc sacrificium; aliqui hæc ratione, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Christs sunt? Nequaquam, sed unus ubique est Christus; et hic plenus existens, et illic plenus, unum corpus." Chrys. Hom. 17, ad Hebræos. [§ 3, tom. xii. p. 241.]

(2) "Sursum est Dominus, sed ubique est veritas Domini."

(3) Out of Ridley's own writing.

Weston :—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith : 'How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth; that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?'"

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Bernard.

Ridley :—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter, shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is everywhere: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places."

The time of Bernard.

Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

Weston :—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley :—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him."

The verity of the body of Christ.

Weston :—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words 'in diversis locis,' 'in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith :—"Christ was seen really and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley :—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith :—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written,¹ 'Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all,' etc. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Ridley :—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful."

To be here and not here, importeth contradiction in respect of sundry times.

Smith :—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," etc.

Ridley :—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith :—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley :—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith :—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven."

"But his vision was a corporal vision:

(1) "Unde hoc nobis, piissime Jesu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terræ, nos, inquam, qui pulvis et cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus et integer sedes ad dextram Patris, qui etiam unius horæ momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, ab aquilone usque ad austrum præsto es, unus in multis, idem in diversis locis!"

(2) Acts v.

(3) 1 Cor. xv.

- Marg.* "Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven."¹
- A.D. 1554.* *Ridley* :—"He was seen really and corporally indeed : but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt : and of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."
- Smith* :—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."
- Whether Paul saw Christ in heaven or in earth ; all is one to prove his resurrection. Petitio principii.* *Ridley* :—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt : and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength : for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again : for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again."
- See Addenda* *Smith* :—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."
- Argument.* *Ridley* :—"You run to the beginning again : that you take for granted, which you should have proved."
- Answer.* *Smith* :—"You make delays for the nonce."
- Argument.* *Ridley* :—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned : they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you."
- Answer.* *Tresham* :—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard : ergo, he was corporally on the earth ; or else how could he be heard ?"
- Argument.* *Ridley* :—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."
- Answer.* *Da-Smith* :—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him."
- Argument.* *ti-* "Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth :"
- Answer.* *si.* "Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."
- Ridley* :—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally : but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."
- Smith* :—"He was seen of him as of others."
- "But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth :"
- "Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."
- Ridley* :—"Your controversy is about 'existens in terra,' that is, being on earth : If 'existere,' 'to be,' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain : for he was seen of Stephen ; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it : and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."
- See Appendix.* *Smith* :—"We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension,² Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence : and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, 'Master, whither walk you ?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done ?"
- Linus. Ambrosius. Abdias.* *Ridley* :—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."
- Smith* :—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority ?"
- Ridley* :—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."
- Smith* :—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

(1) This argument holdeth rather "materia" than "ratione forma."

(2) Lib. III. cap. 3.

Ridley :—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority ; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church.¹ And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if, at any time, he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us) ; but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

The credit
of Linus's
story.
See
appendix.

Smith :—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will show here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers : I will bring in Chrysostome for this point.² 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance : for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias : he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that ? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar : but the Son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same : but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him.'"

Chrysos-
tome.

Ridley :—"I grant that Christ did both ; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh : again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ : and generally, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'"

Smith :—"Chrysostome saith : 'O miracle, O good will of God ! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men.' Or else as others have translated it, thus : 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God ! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley :—"He that sitteth there, is there present in mystery, and by grace ; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received : but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton :—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only ?"

Ridley :—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir : Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul ? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may wherein every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same."

The mi-
racle in
the sacra-
ment,
wherein.

(1) This addition is taken out of the copy of Ridley's own writing.

(2) "Tanquam maximam hereditatem, Eliseus melotem suscepit. Etenim verè maxima fuit hereditas, omni auro pretiosior : et erat duplex Helias ille : et erat sursum Helias, et deorsum Helias. Novi quòd justum illum beatum putatis, et velletis quisque esse ut ille. Quid igitur, si vobis demonstravero quid aliud, quod illo multo majus omnes sacris mysteriis imbuti recipimus ? Helias quidem melotem discipulo reliquit : Filius autem Dei ascendens suam nobis carnem dimisit. Sed Helias quidem exutus : Christus autem et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit." Hom. 2, ad populum Antiochenum. [§ 9, p. 40, tom. II. Paris, 1834.—Ed.]

(3) Here, at this answer, great cartfalls of taunting, spiteful, and reproachful words were cast upon this good bishop.

(4) "O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam ! Qui sursum sedet tempore sacrificii, hominum manibus continetur." Or, as others have translated it, "O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem ! Qui cum patre sursum, sedet, in illo ipso temporis articulo, omnium manibus pertractatur, ac se ipse tradit volentibus ipsum accipere et complecti !" Chrysost. de Dignitate Sacerdotii, lib. III. [cap. IV.—Ed.]

*Mary.*A.D.
1554.

Smith :—"Chrysostome calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpfield :—"The former place of Chrysostome is not to be let alip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of prophecy to his scholar?"

Ridley :—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpfield :—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

Ridley :—"He did so."

Harpfield :—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

How
Christ
took up
his body,
and left it
with us.
The
phrase of
Chrysos-
tome con-
sidered.

Ridley :—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ, ascending up here, left with us, is the only salvation and life of all them who shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostome, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpfield :—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."¹

Ridley :—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace; then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpfield :—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostome would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have used than these?"

Ridley :—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great show outwardly. He might also have used grosser words if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpfield :—"The comparison lieth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley :—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpfield :—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing."

Harp-
field an-
swered.

Ridley :—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

Weston :—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is."²

Ridley :—"These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeeming, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston :—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple: but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason:

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

(1) Comparison between Elias's mantle and Christ's flesh: Elias took his mantle, and left neither mantle nor sacrament of his mantle behind him. Christ took his flesh, and left a sacrament of his flesh, which was more than Elias did: and yet the said Elias afterward cast down his mantle.

(2) "Quam sit stupida et crassa responsio tua."

Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master doctor answereth it after this fashion: 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned."

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

Ridley:—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers: He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us."

Weston speaketh in English.

Weston:—"Ye judges,² what think you of this answer?"

Judges:—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley:—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place:³ "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Ridley:—"Master doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

How we are sprinkled with Christ's blood.

Weston:—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again: 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"⁴

Ridley:—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places: for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is everywhere with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Answer to Bernard.

Weston:—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ward:—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to master doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you."⁵

Ridley falsely charged to set forth the catechism.

Ridley:—"Wete you well, Sir, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston:—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Weston, in king Edward's days, subscribed.

Ridley:—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward:—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

Ridley:—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole:—"Did you never consent to the setting-out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley:—"I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it."⁶

Judges:—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole Convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it."⁷

Ridley:—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward:—"The catechism hath this clause: 'Si visibiliter et in terra.' 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley:—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both weting and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward:—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not

(1) "Reliquit nobis carnem suam."

(2) But were these judges in king Edward's time?

(3) "Spargimur sanguine Christi."

(4) This he repeated in English to the people also.

(5) Here they returned again to Latin.

(6) Of this catechism read before.

(7) The judges give an untrue verdict: for Dr. Cranmer, meaning by the council, spoke no word of Ridley.

Mary. of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself."¹

A. D. *Ridley* :—" I grant."

1554. *Ward* :—" Christ was the wisdom of the Father : ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand ; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

Ridley :—" All this I grant."

Argu-
ment of
the wis-
dom and
truth of
Christ.

Ward :—" Christ was likewise the very truth : ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others."

Weston :—" Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these words : ' All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity ; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper.' "

Ward :—" He is the truth of the Father : ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived ; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Answer
to Ward's
argu-
ment.

Ridley :—" Christ is the very truth of the Father ; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, ' This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward :—" He took, he brake, he gave, etc. What took he ?"

Ridley :—" Bread : his body."

Ward :—" What brake he ?"

Ridley :—" Bread."

Ward :—" What gave he ?"

Ridley :—" Bread."

Ward :—" Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread ?"

Ridley :—" I know not whether he gave bread of wheat ; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward :—" I will prove the contrary by Scriptures."

" He delivered to them that which he bade them take."

" But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body :

" Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."

Answer.

Ridley :—" I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread : and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and that it was also his body ; because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."²

Harpfield :—" What is he that so saith, ' By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit ?' "

Ridley :—" I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, ' This is my body,' sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar."

Oglethorpe :—" That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you : for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, ' This is the figure of my body, but my body.' ' For,' saith he, ' by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.' "

The
words of
Theophy-
lact (who
said not
this is a
figure of
my body)
answer-
ed.

Ridley :—" It is not a figure ; that is to say, ' Non tantum est figura ; i.e. It is not only a figure of his body.' "

Weston :—" Where have you that word ' tantum,' ' only ?' "

Ridley :—" It is not in that place, but he hath it in another ; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, " He saith, it is no figure, and you say, it is a figure." And the same Theophylact

(1) A possibilis ad esse, non valet consequentia.

(2) " Vera omnia sunt, et neque otiosæ, neque inutiliter constituta Dei verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superfluum inanitatibus, ignita, et ignita vehementer, ne quid illic esse, quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur."

(3) This argument is not formal in the second figure

(4) Theophylact. in Matt. xxvi.

saith moreover, that the conversing or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

That which Christ gave, we do give.¹

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.

Ergo, we give no figure but his body.

Ridley :—"I grant," quod he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ; but not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, in the same place, 'by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure *only*. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the divine mysteries."

Weston :—"You put in 'only,' and that is one lie. And I tell you further: Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, 'It is no figure, but his flesh.'

Ridley :—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

Harding :—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μεταστοιχειούσας; which is in Latin 'trans-elementatur,' that is, turned from one element into another. And showing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

Ridley :—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, *ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα*, that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ."

Ward :—"Learned master doctor, thus you expound the place, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' i. e. 'This is my body,' that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley :—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Da- Ward :—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me."

ti- "But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, 'This is my body,' without a figure:

si. "Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Ridley :—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward :—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley :—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Ward :—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology,⁵ hath thus: οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν σῆμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεὶς ἡμῶν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφομαι ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδόχθημεν εἶναι."

"Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus; imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimen-

(1) This argument is without perfect mood and form, having the minor negative in the second figure.

(2) As concerning the authority of Theophylact, what he thought and might have spoken of that author, Dr. Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as he himself afterward declared, reporting and writhing with his own hand the disputations in the prison), because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought, touching the authority of Theophylact, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author on this sort.

(3) This Harding sat at the table among the notaries.

(4) "Quoniam infirmi sumus, et horremus crudas carnes comedere, maxime hominis carnem: ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est." Theoph. in vi. cap. Johan.

(5) In modern Editions, Apolog. i. § 66, p. 85. Venetis, 1747.—Ed.

Mary. tum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.

A. D.
1554.

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished; 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'

Cranmer
charged
with mis-
translat-
ing a
place of
Justin.

"Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies.'"¹

Ridley :—"O good master doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' etc. as above.

Ridley :—"O what upright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, who are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."²

Ward :—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley :—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston :—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

"Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ."³

Ridley :—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, where-with we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, 'My flesh is meat indeed,' etc."

Ward :—"I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you.' What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: 'He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own), taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body.' What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his supper?"

Ridley :—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Ward :—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith:

Ba- 'He desired to eat his passover.

ro- 'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

co- 'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Answer.

Ridley :—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own. insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper."

(1) Read Cranmer's answer to this before. [See p. 467.]

(2) Sumptum ex exemplari Domini Ridlei descripto.

(3) In this argument if the minor be a negative, the form is false: if it be affirmative, æquipolenter, the major is to be denied.

(4) 'Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum.'

(5) 'Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupiscere edere pascha suum (Indignum enim ut alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suum corpus illius fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, etc.' Tertul. contra Marcion, lib. iv. [cap. 40.—Ed.]

Ward:—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, 'He desired to eat his own passover,' and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?" *Mary.*
A. D.
1554.

Ridley:—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical.¹ I know that Cyprian hath these words:² 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'"

Ward:—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, 'Adorate scabellum pedum ejus;' i. e. 'Worship his footstool,' etc.³: 'I ask,' saith he, 'what is the footstool of his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of earth, and because of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.'

Da- "He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, etc.

ti- "But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, 'This is my body:'

si- "Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh."⁴

Ridley:—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcvi., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross." How
Christ
gave his
flesh to be
eaten, and
when.

Smith:—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley:—"I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.")

Ridley:—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

After this, Dr. Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr. Glyn's mind was to serve the turn; for afterward he came to the house wherein master Ridley was kept, and, as far as master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences

Dr. Glyn,
Bishop
Ridley's
old friend,
desireth
him of
pardon.
Ridley
forgiveth
Dr. Glyn.

(1) Analogical sense is that which hath a high and mystical understanding, that lieth abstruse and profound under the external letter."

(2) "Tunc instituit quidem eucharistiam, sed utrumque erat Christi."

(3) "Quero, inquit, quid sit scabellum pedum ejus? Et dicit mihi Scriptura. Terra scabellum pedum meorum. Fluctuans converto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quero hic, et invenio quomodo alme impletate adoretur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de Terra est, et de carne Maris carnem accepit, et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandum ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducavit nisi prius adoraverit. Invenitum est quo modo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum," etc. August. in Psal. xcvi. [Col. 1066. tom. iv. Edit. Benedict.—E.]

(4) If the minor of this argument (as is said before) be equipollent to affirmative, then it cometh next to the mood *Desist*.

Mary. put apart, they, being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

A.D. 1554. *Glyn* :—" I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers : I will go to work with you after another sort :—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley :—" This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter-away of the Scripture, and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth ; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn :—" Then I ask this question : whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous ?"

Ridley :—" The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole ; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance "

Glyn :—" That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

" But the church hath never been idolatrous :

" Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist." ¹

Ridley :—" And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament : like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament ; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, (according to his grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, ² I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often showed, and by a sacramental signification ; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn :—" Augustine against Faustus [saith,] ³ 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers ; and Erasmus, ⁴ in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley :—" We do handle the signs reverently : but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn :—" What is the symbol or sacrament ?"

Ridley :—" Bread."

Glyn :—" Ergo, We worship bread."

This word
'worship'
distinguish-
ed.

See
Addenda.

Ridley :—" There is a deceit in this word 'adoramus.' We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits : but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn :—" So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley :—" We adore and worship Christ in the eucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament ; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

Glyn :—" So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley :—" Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church."

Glyn :—" Think you that Christ hath now his church ?"

Ridley :—" I do so."

Glyn :—" But all the church adareth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

(1) This argument, having the minor a negative, neither is formable in the third figure, nor doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus : ergo, to worship the flesh of Christ in the eucharist is no idolatry.

(2) Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu descripto.

(3) "Nonnulli propter panem et calicem, Cereem et Bacchum nos colere existimabant." etc. August. contra Faust. lib. xx. cap. 13.

(4) Tom. ix. Operum, p. 1310. Basl. 1540.—Ed.

Ridley :—" You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation ; as appeareth in the council of Florence."¹

Cole :—" That is false : for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation ; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley :—" Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto them."

Cole :—" It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop :—" Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist : and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostome. The place is this :"

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."²

Ridley :—" It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which manner it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us : so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ : but that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity ; namely, for our spiritual nourishment : like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration."

Curtop :—" The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley :—" The sacrament of the blood is the blood ; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth *Curtop*'s argument in English.)

Weston :—" That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

"But there came out very blood :

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley :—" The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston :—" That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley :—" It is true ; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

Ridley :—" O my masters ! I take this for no judgment : I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson :—" Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disputation : and therefore first I ask this question : When Christ said in John vi.,³ ' He that eateth my flesh,' etc., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley :—" I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually : and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation : for without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably ; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson :—" I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley :—" The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

(1) This council of Florence was but of late years, in the time of the council of Basil. [It commenced its sittings at Florence in 1439, and continued them to 1442.—*Ed.*]

(2) Chrys. in cap. 10. Cor. 1. Hom. 24.

(3) The major should be thus : Whatsoever did flow from the side of Christ is in the cup, etc. : or else the argument being in the second figure is affirmative, and false.

(4) This argument concludeth not directly, and, being in the second figure affirmative, it is not formal.

(5) "Qui manducat carnem meam."

Marg.

A. D.
1554.

*Marg.**Watson* :—" Is it instituted of God?"*A. D.**Ridley* :—" It is instituted of God."*1554.**Watson* :—" Where?"*Ridley* :—" In the supper."*Watson* :—" With what words is it made a sacrament?"*Ridley* :—" By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."*Watson* :—" It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."*Ridley* :—" True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."*Watson* :—"What is a sacrament?"Sacra-
ment de-
fined.*Ridley* :—" I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace."*Watson* :—" Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers."*Ridley* :—" The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."*Watson* :—" But there is difference between the mystical body, and natural body."*Ridley* :—" There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."Argu-
ment*Watson* :—" The eucharist is a sacrament of the new testament:

" Ergo, It hath a promise of grace.

" But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

" Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the new testament." 1

Ridley :—" I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?' And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation: even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life." I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."*Watson* :—" If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

" But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood. 'Qui manducat,' etc.

" Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley :—" The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."*Watson* :—" Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it: but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

" Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Sacra-
ments
have a
promise
of grace
annexed,
not abso-
lutely, but
instru-
mentally.*Ridley* :—" True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'habet,' 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."*Watson* :—" This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ; and not to the bread and wine:

" Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

(1) The syllogism is thus to be formed. The sacrament of the new testament hath a promise of grace annexed: bread and wine have no promise of grace annexed: ergo, bread and wine is no sacrament of the new testament.

(2) No promise made to bread and wine as they be common bread and common wine: but as they be sanctified and made sacraments of the Lord's body and blood, they are not now called bread and wine, but have a promise annexed to them, or rather (to say the truth) annexed to the receivers of them.

(3) John vi.

Ridley :—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Watson :—"Every sacrament of the new testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley :—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine."

Sacra-
ments
only in-
stru-
ments
of
grace

Watson :—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley :—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson :—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley :—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

Watson :—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley :—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson :—"Hearken what Chrysostome saith upon that place:¹ 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

Ridley :—"Let Chrysostome have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Answer
to Chry-
sostome.

Watson :—"All,' saith Chrysostome,² 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostome doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.'"

Chryso-
stome:
one bread,
one mysti-
cal
body.

Ridley :—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration, or quickening."

Watson :—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley :—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson :—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley :—"It is one of the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson :—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley :—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate."

Watson :—"A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all christian A cavil men?"

Ridley :—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

(1) 1 Cor. xii.

(2) "Pauls quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit participatio? Quia amplius quid significare voluit, et multam inter hæc convenientiam offendere. Non enim participatione tantum et accensione, sed unitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud unitum est Christo, ita et nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur." Chrys. in 1 Cor. cap. x.

(3) In 1 Cor. cap. x.

Mary. *Watson* :—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

A. D. *Fecknam* :—"But Cyprian saith,¹ 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

1554. *Ridley* :—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam :—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation 'De Cœna Domini,' writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley :—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith :—"When the Lord saith, 'This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech: "Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley :—"I deny your antecedent."

Smith :—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words,² 'He was carried in his own hands:' 'How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, etc. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Augustine answered.

Ridley :—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet, notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith :—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley :—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'"

The place of Augustine, how Christ was carried in his own hands "ad literam," i.e. literally.

"I grant that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word 'ad literam,' 'literally,' you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning in this; that it is not read anywhere in the Bible, that this carnal David, the Son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the son of the Virgin), it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, 'quodam modo,' 'after a certain manner;' which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."⁴

Smith :—"When then was he borne in his own hands: and after what letter?"

Ridley :—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"⁵

Smith :—"Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

(1) "Panis quem nulla multitudo consumit." Cyprian de Cœna Dom.

(2) "Ferebatur in manibus suis." 1 Regum. [xxi. 13. But see Appendix to vol. v. p. 802.]

(3) "Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David secundum literam, non invenimus; de Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis," etc. August. in Psal. xxxiii. con. 1. [Enar. 2. tom. iv. col. 214. Edit. Benedict. Ed.]

(4) "Ferebatur quodam modo in manibus suis." August. i.e. Christ was borne in his own hands sacramentally.

(5) A figure he may bear, but not a sacrament.

Ridley :—" If Austin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ." *Mary.*

Smith :—" But he did bear himself in his own hands :

" Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley :—" He did bear himself, but in a sacrament : and Austin afterward addeth, ' quodam modo,' that is, ' sacramentally.'"

Smith :—" You understand not what Austin meant when he said, ' quodam modo ;' for he meant, that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread. *Quodam modo.*

" Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr. Weston repeated this place again in English : which done, then Dr. Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to master Ridley) with great zeal ; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence : but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing. *See Addenda.*

Tresham :—" God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, ' Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted.' The wise man saith, ' Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother :' but you, dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her." *Tresham prayeth for converting Ridley.*

Ridley :—" These bye words do pollute your school."

Tresham :—" If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston :—" Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham :—" I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran,¹ the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiated into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic." *The decree of the Lateran council alleged for transubstantiation.*

Ridley :—" Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said : but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."²

One of the Scribes :—" What ! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?" *Carping.*

Ridley :—" No sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third,³ a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham :—" What ! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, " Scribite, scribite," Write, write. *Council of Lateran.*

Ridley :—" No sir, I receive not that council ; ' scribite, et rescribite,' write, and write again."

Tresham :—" Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ : ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley :—" Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further ; as St. Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

(1) Of this council read before.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Of this Innocent the Third read before.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1554.

Tresham :—" I prove the contrary, by St. Augustine: 'Sicut enim Judas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed malè accipiendo peccavit,' etc.¹ 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' etc. And a little after,² 'Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley :—" It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body : and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place,³ where he saith,⁴ 'The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston :—" Paul saith, 'the body,' and you say, the sacrament of the body."⁵

Ridley :—" Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson :—" You understand it evil concerning the sign : for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

The old doctors, etc.

Ridley :—" They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you :'" and so here he cited the place.

Theophylact alleged.

Weston :—" I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord.⁶ 'The Lord did show the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,' etc."

Answer.

Ridley :—" This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors : He tasted the flesh of the Lord, 'insensibiliter,' 'insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh."

Chrysostome alleged.

Weston :—" Chrysostome saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him."

Chrysostome expounded.

Ridley :—" That is, because they defile the Lord's body : for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament."

The council of Nice alleged.

Watson :—" You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these :⁷ 'Let us not look a-low by the ground, upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.'"

Ridley :—" That council was collected out of ancient fathers ; and is to me a great authority ; for it saith,⁸ 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

The place expounded.

Watson :—" 'Exaltata mente,' 'with a mind exalted :' that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them,⁹ 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."¹⁰

Ridley :—" The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body : and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power ; not corporally."

Watson :—" But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley :—" It is a figurative speech ; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson :—" But he lieth there, the Greek word is *κεῖται*."

Ridley :—" He lieth there ; that is, he is there present : not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

(1) Aug. lib. v. cont. Donatistas. cap. 8.

(2) "Quia aliquis non ad salutem manducat, non ideo non eat corpus."

(3) In Joh. Evang. Tract. 59, § 1, tom. iii. p. 2, col. 663.—Ed.

(4) "Panem Domini, et panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum : boni autem manducant et panem Domini, et panem Dominum."

(5) This, Weston spake in English.

(6) "Ostendit Dominus crudelitatem Judæ, qui cum argueretur, non intellexit, et gustavit carnem Domini," etc.

(7) "Ne humiliter spectemus propositum panem et potum, sed exaltata mente fideliter credamus jacere in illa sacra mensa Agnum Dei tollentem peccata mundi à sacerdotibus sacrificatum." In Gelassi Hist. Conc. Niceni Prim. lib. ii. cap. 30. Apud Labbé, tom. ii. col. 232.—Ed.

(8) "Positum esse panem in altari, et exaltata mente considerandum eum qui in cœlis est."

(9) "Agnus Dei jacet in mensa."

(10) If the Lamb of God lie really upon the table, then why doth the council bid us lift up our minds ; which rather should bid us let down our minds to the altar ?

Watson :—" He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley :—" You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon¹ doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted-up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.'"

Smith :—" I bring another place out of the council of Nice: 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'"

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley :—" This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

Then came in another, whom master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."³

Ridley :—" I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence,⁴ wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened, or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here started up another unknown to master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation: but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church; to whom master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie :—" What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley :—" I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie :—" But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley :—" It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner,

(1) De Consecrat. dist. 9. [Gelasii Hist. Conc. Nic. lib. II. cap. 80.]

(2) "Nullus apostolorum dixit, hæc est figura corporis Christi: nullus venerabilium presbyterorum dixit incoerentum altaris sacrificium figuram," etc.

(3) Out of Dr. Ridley's copy.

(4) This assertion is perfectly true, although cardinal Bessarion had managed to produce a temporary union: for his conduct in which business he was severely blamed, the Greek church being uninformed of his proceedings, and having never authorised him to attempt a union. See Historia concertationis Græc. Latinorumque de Transubstant., auct. J. R. Kleslingio; Leipsie, 1754, pp. 188—194; Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre 108, § 156, and Labbe, tom. xiii.—Eo.

Mary. and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

A. D. 1554. *Weston* :—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostome,¹ and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist.

Weston playeth Goliath with David.

"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist."

"Again, the same Chrysostome saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley :—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine,² not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston :—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

Ridley :—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostome in English.)

Ridley :—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

Weston bloweth up the triumph.

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these words: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the morte (and he began, and they followed) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'"

THE DISPUTATION HAD AT OXFORD THE 18TH DAY OF APRIL, 1554, BETWEEN MASTER HUGH LATIMER, ANSWERER, AND MASTER SMITH AND OTHERS, OPPOSERS.³

After these disputations of bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the 18th day of April; which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before: but it was most in English. For master Latimer, the answerer, alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

Smith of Oriel college opponent to Latimer.

There replied unto him master Smith of Oriel college; Dr. Cartwright, master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint,

(1) Rom. 24, in 1 ad Cor.

(2) This argument, after the disposition and terms, as it standeth, is not formal.

(3) Lib. iii. de Doctrinâ Christianâ.

(4) "Videtur præfractum hominis animum, gloriosum, vafum, inconstantem: videtur hodie veritatis vires inconvulsas. Itaque clamato, Vicit veritas." [See the Appendix.]

(5) See the Harleian MSS. No. 422, art. 92.

and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read what he had (as he said) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

(The Preface of Weston unto the Disputation following.)

Weston :—" Men and brethren ! we are come together this day (by the help of God), to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words."

Latimer :—" I pray you, good master prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue."

See
Appendix.

Weston :—" Take your ease, father."

Latimer :—" I thank you, sir, I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The Protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in Writing to Dr. Weston.

See
Appendix.

The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these :

The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine : in like manner his blood.

The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiabile, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

Concerning the first conclusion, me thinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril—I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence : and this presence is sufficient for a christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence; that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence: which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

The real
presence
of Christ,
how it is.

Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters, the transubstantiators, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

Answer to
the second
conclusion.

The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtilly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, where he saith,¹ "That Christ, his own self, hath made purgation of our sins." And afterward, "That he might," saith he, "be a merciful and faithful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking-away of our sins." So that the expiation or taking-away of our sins, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he

Answer to
the third.

(1) Heb. i.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

Taking
away of
sins de-
pendeth
on the
person of
the offer-
er.

*See
Appendix.*

was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, "By what authority do ye this, and who gave you this authority?"—Where? when?—"A man cannot," saith the Baptist, "take anything except it be given him from above;" much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, "If any man sin," saith St. John, "we have," saith he,—(not a masser or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass; but "we have," saith he,) "an advocate, Jesus Christ," which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

What meaneth Paul, when he saith, "They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar" and so addeth, "So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel."—Whereas he should have said, "The Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing;" that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all christian men are sacrificing priests.

The sacri-
ficing
priest-
hood
changed
into a
preaching
priest-
hood.

The final
cause why
the Lord's
supper
was
chiefly or-
dained.

The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. "*Feed*," saith Peter, "as much as ye may, the flock of Christ:" nay, rather, let us *sacrifice* as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation, that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly, catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called a heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

Sacrific-
ing
taketh
away
preach-
ing.
Prepos-
terous
judgment
of papists.

Latimer
found
more au-
dience
with
kings and
princes,
than with
rustic
divines.

*See
Addenda.*

The four
marrow-
bones of
the mass
expound-
ed.

Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. Oh, sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption; but now, that I may speak the truth (by your leave), I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, rejactes, reviling, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I had not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long.

Surely it cannot be but a heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; the which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor; but sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean:—

The first, is "the Popish consecration," which hath been called a god's body-making. The second, is "Transubstantiation." The third, is "the Missal oblation." The fourth, "Adoration."

These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call "the marrow-bones of the mass;" which indeed you may by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else, indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded; although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade

the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

I have heard much talk of master doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, the great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation; namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know many things without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. "Depart from such men," saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Petilian: "Whosoever," saith he, "teacheth anything necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed." Oh! beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: "Whatsoever," saith he, "is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin." Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword: "Let no man," saith he, "deceive you with probability and persuasions of words."—"But what mean you," saith one, "by this talk so far from the matter?" Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God!—you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm: but, in these things, I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!

Weston:—"Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?"

Latimer:—"No, good master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old,¹ as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston:—"Ye said, upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof in your book: but we will find a mass in that book."

Latimer:—"No, good master doctor, ye cannot."

Weston:—"What find you then there?"

Latimer:—"Forsooth, a communion I find there."

Weston:—"Which communion?—the first or the last?"²

(1) Petilian was a Donatist bishop of Cirtha in Africa in the beginning of the fifth age.—*Ep.*

(2) But God saw it good that Weston never came to this age.

(3) By this first and second communion, he meaneth the two books of public order set forth in king Edward's days, the one in the beginning, the other in the latter end of his reign.

Mayr.

A. D.
1554.

The pride of Weston privily touched. Obedience to princes hath its limitation.

Knowledge without Christ is mere ignorance. Many there be, who, under pretence of Christ, darken the glory of Christ.

The absurdities of the papists opened in abusing the Lord's supper.

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

Weston
cavilleth
against
the name
of the
Lord's
supper.

Latimer :—" I find no great diversity in them ; they are one supper of the Lord : but I like the last very well."

Weston :—" Then the first was naught, belike."

Latimer :—" I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston :—" Then cake-bread and loaf-bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord, but ye are deceived in that : for they had done their supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith 'postquam cœnatum est;' i.e. 'after they had supped.' For ye know that St Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper ; and ye know to man can be drunken at your communion."

Latimer :—" The first was called 'cœna Judaica,' i.e. 'The Jewish supper,' when they did eat the paschal lamb together : the other was called 'cœna Dominica,' i.e. 'The Lord's supper.'"

Weston :—" That is false ; for Chrysostome denieth that.¹ And St. Ambrose, on 1 Cor. x. saith, that 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same.² Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection.' And that first supper was called ἀγάπη :³ can you tell what that is?"

Latimer :—" I understand no Greek : yet I think it meaneth charity."

Weston :—" Will you have all things done that Christ did then ? Why then, must the priest be hanged on the morrow.—And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Weston
opposed
in his
grammar.
δοκιμαζέ-
τω δὲ ἀν-
ὁρῶντος
αὐτοῦ.

Latimer :—" Will you give me leave to turn my book : I find it in 1 Cor. xi. I trow these be his words : 'probet autem seipsum homo,' etc.—I pray you, good master, what gender is 'homo'?"

Weston :—" Marry, the common gender."

Cole :—" It is in the Greek, ὁ ἀνθρώπος."

Harpfield :—" It is 'ἀνρ,' that is, 'vir.'"

Latimer :—" It is in my book of Erasmus's translation, 'probet seipsum homo.'"

Feknam :—" It is 'probet seipsum' indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Latimer :—" What then ? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, 'Quis tetigit me ?' 'Scio quod aliquis me tetigit;' i.e. 'Who touched me ?' I know that some man touched me."

Weston :—" I will be at host with you anon.—When Christ was at his supper, none were with him but his apostles only : ergo, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

The apo-
stles re-
presented
the whole
church.

Latimer :—" In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

Weston :—" So through the whole heretically translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel, I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?"

The name
of mini-
ster more
fit than
the name
of priest.

Latimer :—" A minister is a more fit name for that office ; for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

Weston :—" Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Master opponent fall to it."

Smith :—" Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you : to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question : but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?"

(1) Chrysost. in 1 Cor. cap. 10.

(2) "Mysterium eucharistiæ inter cœnandum datum, non est cœna Dominica."

(3) "Rurus pasche sacra cum discipulis in cœnaculo ac post cœnam, dieque unica ante passionem celebrat. Nos verò ea in orationis domibus, et ante cœnam et post resurrectionem peragimus."

(4) Ἀγάπη : so were the feasts called, wont to be given to the poor

(5) Weston scorned the name of minister.

Latimer :—" I trust I have obtained of master prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to master prolocutor."

Smith :—" Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer :—" Disputation requireth a good memory; 'ast abolita est mihi memoria : my memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

Weston :—" How long have ye been in prison?"

Latimer :—" These three quarters of this year."

Weston :—" And I was in prison six years."

Latimer :—" The more pity, sir."

Weston :—" How long have you been of this opinion?"

Latimer :—" It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston :—" The time hath been, when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer :—" Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."

Weston :—" Where learned you this new fangleness?"

Latimer :—" I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years : and my lord of Canterbury's book² hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Latimer confirmed by Cranmer's book.

Tresham :—" There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston :—" You were once a Lutheran."

Latimer :—" No, I was a papist : for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Zurichers once did write a book against Luther,³ and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer."

The seal of Latimer in popery.

Weston :—" Luther in his book 'De privata Missa,'⁴ said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer :—" I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

Weston :—" Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer :—" Yea, sir."

Weston :—" Then have you no faith."

Latimer :—" Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham :—" It is written, 'Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'⁵ Which when the Capernautes, and many of Christ's disciples heard, they said, 'This is a hard saying,' etc. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or of the spiritual eating of the same?"

(1) Then they hissed and clapt their hands at him.

(2) "Cranmer's Book. A Defence of the true and catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ." 4to. Lond. 1550.—Ed.

(3) Several treatises upon this question will be found in "Operum Huld. Zuinglii pars secunda." Tiguri, 1581; pp. 313 to 376.—Ed.

(4) Fol. 14. "Contigit me," etc. In that book the devil doth not dissuade him so much from saying mass, as he labourerth to bring him to desperation for mass.—Such temptations many times happen to good men. [This story is current among the papists at this time. (See Baddeley's *Sure Way*, p. 55, etc.) The best refutation of it will be found in the following extract : "The tale against that godly man Dr. Luther, is scornful and slanderous, blazed abroad by Pighius, Hoelius, Staphylus the rufegate, and such others, only of wilful malice and hatred of the truth, and therefore not worthy to be answered. Dr. Luther sheweth what terrible temptations the devil layeth to trap men withal, taking occasion sometimes of well-doing, sometimes of evil; sometimes of truth, sometimes of falsehood. And for example, he sheweth that the devil on a time assaulted him, not in visible form, but by dreadful suggestions in his conscience, as it were, thus calling him to remembrance : These many years thou hast said mass; thou hast showed up bread and wine to be worshipped as God, and yet now thou knowest it was a creature and not God. Thereof followed idolatry, and thou wert the cause thereof.—All these things he saw to be true by the testimony and light of his own conscience, and therefore confessed he had offended, and yielded himself unto God. The devil's purpose was to lead him to despair; but God mercifully delivered him. And this is Dr. Luther's whole and only meaning in that place, that no man of himself is able to withstand such assaults and temptations of the enemy, but only by the power and mercy of God." *Jewel's Reply to Harding*, article 1, divia. 2.—Ed.]

(5) Here Tresham began to dispute in Latin.

(6) John vi.

Mary. *Latimer* :—"I answer as Augustine understandeth: that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

A. D. *Tresham* :—"Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?"

1554. *Latimer* :—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally."

Tresham :—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaites?"

Latimer :—"Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth."

Tresham :—"They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be taken with the mouth. And Christ also, as I shall prove, did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth. Ergo, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body."¹

Latimer :—"I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart."

Tresham
flieth to
custom.

Tresham :—"I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth."

Distinction.

Latimer :—"He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind."

Tresham :—"But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had not been offensive to the Capernaites and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had not been an easy matter for him to have said:² 'You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing; and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the selfsame thing that the Capernaites did, I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth; videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for 'corpus Christi' 'the body of Christ,' 'sacramentum corporis Christi' 'the sacrament of the body of Christ,' and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary:³ 'Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one; because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo! here you see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before king Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side; videlicet, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' 'This is my body:' whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of Scripture hath the selfsame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?"

Latimer
charged
to preach
the contrary
doctrine before
the king at
Greenwich.

Latimer :—"Will you give me leave to speak?"

(1) Doctor Tresham's argument without form or mood, concluding affirmatively in the second figure.

(2) And what doth Christ else mean by these words, where he saith, "My words be spirit and life; the flesh profiteth nothing!"

(3) "Si verè igitur carnem corporis nostri Christus assumpsit, et verè homo ille qui ex Maria natus fuit Christus est; nos quoque verè sub mysterio, carnem corporis sui sumimus, et per hæc unum erimus, quia pater in eo est, et ille in nobis: Quomodo voluntatis unitas asseritur, cum naturalis per sacramentum proprietates perfectè sacramentum sit unitatis?"

Tresham :—"Speak Latin, I pray you; for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough."

Mary.

Latimer :—"I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Master prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, 'If the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.'"

A. D.
1554.

Melancthon's judgment.

Smith :—"I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.

De "Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, yea greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father. *Argument.*

zi "But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial :

si "Ergo, The unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."

Latimer :—"I understand you not."

Seton :—"I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, 'De cena Domini.' 'The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood: the New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood.' But where doth it command the drinking of blood?"

Seton reasoneth out of Cyprian.

Latimer :—"In these words, 'Bibite ex hoc omnes;' i. e. 'Drink ye all of this.'"

Seton :—"Then we taste true blood."

Latimer :—"We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough."

Seton :—"Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ:¹ for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid, to drink blood."

Latimer :—"It is true as touching the matter; but not as touching the manner of the thing."

Seton :—"Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually."

Latimer :—"And we drink spiritually, also; but a more precious blood."

Weston :—"Augustine, upon the xlvth Psalm, saith:² 'Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out.'—Ergo, it is blood."

Latimer :—"I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine saith,³ 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.'"

Weston :—"Nay,⁴ 'To believe, is not to drink or eat.' You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God. Is not 'manducare,' 'to eat,' in your learning put for 'credere,' 'to believe'?"

See Addenda.

Latimer :—"Yes, Sir."

Weston :—"I remember my lord chancellor demanded master Hooper of these questions, whether 'edere,' 'to eat,' were 'credere,' 'to believe;' and 'altare,' 'an altar,' were Christ, in all the Scripture, etc.: and he answered, 'Yea.' Then said my lord chancellor, 'Why then, Habemus altare de quo non licet edere;' i. e. We have an altar of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to say, as Habemus Christum, in quo non licet credere; i. e. We have a Christ, in whom we may not believe.'"

Tresham :—"Believe, and thou hast eaten,' is spoken of the spiritual eating."

Latimer :—"It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also."

Weston :—"We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.—Ergo, it is very blood."

Latimer :—"We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he went about to show, that as certain as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually."

(1) By that reason the New and Old Testament should not differ, but should be contrary one from the other, which cannot be true in natural or moral precepts.

(2) "Securè bibite sanguinem quem fudistis." [§ 3.] (3) "Crede, et manducaest."

(4) "Credere, non est bibere nec edere."

(5) "Edere" in some places is taken for "credere:" but that in all places it is so taken, it followeth not.

(6) This place of the Hebrews alludeth to the old sacrifice of the Jews, who, in the feast of propitiation the tenth day, used to carry the flesh of the sacrifice out of the tents to be burned on an altar without, because none of them which served in the tabernacle should eat thereof: only the blood was carried by the high priest into the holy place.

Mary. *Weston* :—"Do not you seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that 'sacramentaliter,' 'sacramentally,' in God's book?"

A. D. 1554. *Latimer* :—"It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture."

See Addenda. *Weston* :—"The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the new doth command it."

Latimer :—"It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof."

Weston :—"Hear ye people, this is the argument :—

"That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the

New :

"Ergo, it is very blood that we drink in the New."

Answer *Latimer* :—"It is commanded spiritually to be drunk. I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually."

Pie :—"It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law."

Latimer :—"The substance of blood is drunk; but not in one manner."

Pie :—"It doth not require the same manner of drinking."

Latimer :—"It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

[Here *Weston* cited the place of *Chrysostome*, of *Judas's* treason : "O the madness of *Judas*! He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood, which he sold."]

Latimer :—"I grant he offered to *Judas* his blood, which he sold, but in a sacrament."

Weston :—"Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind, shall dispute with you.—*Master Cartwright*, I pray you dispute."

Cartwright :—"Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God, that you may also repent with me."

Latimer :—"Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused master doctor here to recant? It is 'pena legis,' 'the pain of the law,' which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it."

Cartwright :—"That is not my cause; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err :

"Ergo, It is the true body of Christ."

No mention made of any eating but spiritually, for seven hundred years. *Latimer* :—"The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My lord of *Canterbury's* book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him."

Cartwright :—"Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and *St. Augustine* also, upon Psalm xcviij., upon this place, 'Adorate scabellum pedum,' etc. granteth that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer :—"We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used."

Smith :—"Do you think that *Cyril* was of the ancient church?"

Latimer :—"I do think so."

(1) This argument, because the major thereof is not universal, is not formal, and may well be retorted against *Weston* thus :—

Ca. No natural or moral thing, forbidden materially in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New. *la.* To drink man's natural blood is forbidden materially in the Old Testament: *rem.* Ergo, To drink man's natural blood materially is not commanded in the New.

(2) "O *Judas* dementia! Ille cum *Judeis* triginta denariis paciscebatur, ut Christum venderet, et Christus ei sanguinem, quem vendidit, offerebat."

(3) Argumentum à pena legis durum et difficile.

(4) Argumentum à destructione consequentis, ad destructionem antecedentis.

Smith :—" He saith,¹ ' That Christ dwelleth in us corporally.' These be Cyril's words of the mystical benediction." *Mary.*

Latimer :—" That ' corporally ' hath another understanding than you do grossly take it." A. D. 1554.

[Here *Smith* repeateth these words of Cyril,³ " By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally."]

Latimer :—" The solution of this, is in my lord of Canterbury's book."

Smith :—" Cyril was no papist, and yet these be his words, ' Christ dwelleth in us corporally : ' but you say, he dwelleth in us spiritually." [Works, II. p. 410.]

Latimer :—" I say, both ; that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning : spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my lord of Canterbury's book."

Weston :—" Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my lord of Canterbury's book,⁴ I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose,⁵ where he saith,⁶ ' We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood,' etc. Likewise both Augustine on Psalm xxxviii., and Chrysostome, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, say, ' Non solum homines,' etc."

Latimer :—" I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance ; and these testimonies are more than I can bear away."

Weston :—" Then you must leave some behind you, for lack of carriage."

Latimer :—" But for Chrysostome he hath many figurative speeches, and emphatical locutions in many places ; as in that which you have now recited : but he saith not, ' For the quick and the dead : ' He taketh the celebration for the sacrifice." Chrysostome's style.

Weston :—" You shall hear Chrysostome again, upon Acts ix., ' Quid dicis ? Hostia in manibus sacerdotis,' &c. :—He doth not call it a cup of wine." [Hom. 21. § 4.]

Latimer :—" Ye have mine answer there with you in a paper : and yet he calleth it not, ' propitiatorium sacrificium,' that is, a propitiatory sacrifice." See Appendix.

Weston :—" You shall hear it to be so : and I bring another place of Chrysostome out of the same treatise, ' Non temerè ab apostolis est institutum,' etc."

Latimer :—" He is too precious a thing for us to offer ; he offereth himself."

Weston :—" Here, in another place of Chrysostome to the people of Antioch,⁸ and also to the Philippians he saith, ' There should be a memory and sacrifice for the dead.'"

Latimer :—" I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memorative."

Weston :—" How say you to the sacrifice of the dead ?"

Latimer :—" I say, that it needeth not, and it booteth not."

Weston :—" Augustine, in his Enchiridion saith,⁹ ' We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them :—where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother.'"

Latimer :—" But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word."

Weston :—" In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar ; and no oyster-board."

Latimer :—" It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places : but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well."¹⁰

(1) Cyril in Johan. i. 10. c. 13.

(2) Cyril saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in us, but he saith not, that Christ dwelleth corporally in the bread. Which dwelling of Christ in us, is as our dwelling is also in Christ—not local or corporal, but spiritual and heavenly. " Corporally," therefore, is to be taken here in the same sense as St. Paul saith the fulness of divinity to dwell in Christ corporally ; that is, not lightly or accidentally, but perfectly and substantially, with all his virtue and power, etc. And so dwelleth Christ corporally in us also.

(3) " Per communionem corporis Christi, habitat in nobis Christus corporaliter."

(4) Note the immodest behaviour of this Jack Scornier. (5) De Apparatione ad Missam.

(6) " Videmus principem sacerdotem ad nos venientem, et offerentem sanguinem," etc.

(7) Aug. in Psal. xxxviii. : Chrysost. de incomprehensibili Dei natura. Tom. iii. [hom. 3. § 7. tom. i. p. 470. Montfaucon.] (8) Hom. 69.

(9) " Non est negandum defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, quum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur." Cap. 110. (10) Doctores legendi sunt cum venia

Mary. *Cole* :—" Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet ye are not."

A.D. *Latimer* :—" I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my
1554. lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith :—" Then are not you of Chrysostome's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

Latimer :—" I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith. And further, Augustine requireth not to be believed."

Weston :—" Origen, homily thirteen upon Leviticus—"

Latimer :—" I have but one word to say: '*panis sacramentalis*,' 'the sacramental bread' is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?"

Weston :—" My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer."

Latimer :—" Where have you that authority given you to offer?"

Weston :—" '*Hoc facite*,' 'Do this:' for '*facite*,' in that place, is taken for '*offerte*,' that is, 'offer you.'"

Latimer :—" Is '*facere*' nothing but '*sacrificare*' 'to sacrifice'? Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.—Ergo, there may none receive but priests."

Weston :—" Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer :—" Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"

Pie :—" Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer :—" Then if this word '*facite*,' 'do ye,' signify '*sacrificate*,' 'sacrifice ye,' it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?"

Weston :—" Forty year ago, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer :—" The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

Weston's railing.

Weston :—" The light? nay light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars; and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer :—" These things pertain nothing to me; I must not answer other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

See Addressed

Weston :—" Well, master Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine: none but a few fleshyng apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light heads, which were never constant in any one thing; as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a

Weston's apes have tails.

sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They

Blasphemous lies of Weston sitting in cathedra pestilentie.

get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful: the more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, '*Annuas et menstruas de Deo fides facimus*;' that is, 'We make every year and every month a faith.' A runagate Scot⁴ did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we

(1) "*Facere*" for "*sacrificare*," with Dr. Weston.

(2) If Christ offered himself at the supper, and the next day upon the cross, then was Christ twice offered.

(3) Who be these, or where be they, master oblocutor, that will be like the apostles, that will have no churches?—that be runagates out of Germany?—that get them tankards?—that make monthly faiths?—that worship not Christ in all his sacraments?—Speak truth man and shame the devil!

(4) Alexander Ales, or Alesius, who translated the first Liturgy of Edward VI. into Latin. See Dr. Watkins' note in his *Life of Latimer*, prefixed to his *Sermons* (London, 1824), p. ciii.—Ed.

see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's grace is merciful, if ye will turn."

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Latimer :—" You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston :—" Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see, how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen.—And give, that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, "non sine suo Theseo,"¹ that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, "Urge hoc, urge hoc; nam hoc facit pro nobis." In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

'Urge hoc, quoth Weston with his beer-pot

TO THE READER.

And thus hast thou, loving reader, the whole action and stage of this doctorly disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censure of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him listed, would say for himself, "vicit veritas," although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

It followed furthermore, after disputation of these three days being ended, that master Harpsfield, the next day after, which was the 19th of April, should dispute for his form, to be made doctor: to the which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause; as in sequel hereof may appear.

Disputation of Master Harpsfield, Bachelor of Divinity; answering for his Form, to be made Doctor.

Harpsfield :—" I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to entreat the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood: for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the

The judgment of Harpsfield.

(1) "Ὁὐκ ἀνευ Θεσέου, i. e. "Haud absque Theseo:" cum significamus rem alieno auxilio consci:—refertur hoc adagium a Plutarcho in ejus vita, § 28." Erasmi adagiorum Chil. i. cent. 8, p. 167. Basil, 1540.—Ed.

Mary. ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses,¹ but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, which hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity. But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law,² and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as 'Scrutamini,' etc. 'Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me,' etc. 'Lex Domini,' etc. 'The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls;' and that saying of St. Paul, 'Omnis Scriptura,' etc. 'All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works.' Howbeit *doth* the law of the Jews convert their souls? *Are* they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

"The heretics, also, have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus, that the poets speak of; who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, 'He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his Father.' Therefore it is true divinity, to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, 'Nisi manducaveritis,' etc. 'Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.'

"If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaïtes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernaïtes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit under the forms³ whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies.⁴

These things which I have recited briefly, master Harpsfield did, with many more words, set out: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Weston :—"Christ's real body is not in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Harpsfield :—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston :—"John xvi. 'Dico veritatem vobis,' etc. 'I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come,' etc. Upon this I will make this argument.

"Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

"But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

"Ergo, Christ is verily gone."

Harpsfield :—"He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here."⁵

Weston :—"St. Augustine saith, that these words, 'Ergo ero,' etc. 'I will be with you even to the end of the world,' are accomplished, 'secundum majestatem,' 'according to his majesty:' but 'secundum presentiam carnis non est hic;' i. e. 'by the presence of his flesh he is not here.' The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief."

Harpsfield :—"We must diligently weigh, that there are two natures in Christ: the divine nature, and human nature. The divine nature is of such sort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a diverse

(1) If Mr. Harpsfield had willed us to submit our senses to the Holy Ghost, he had said much better.

(2) No, but those Jews sticking so much to the old custom and face of their church, and not seeking for knowledge, by ignorance of the Scriptures were deceived, and so be you.

(3) "Under the forms," that is, under the properties of bread and wine: and so all this is true.

(4) In the material eating of man's body, there is no variety: for to eat man's flesh either under accidents, or not accidents, both is against the Scripture, and against nature.

(5) This answer doth not satisfy the argument: for the conclusion speaketh of a bodily absence, the answer speaking of a spiritual remaining.

manner. So, where the doctors do entreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament."¹

Weston :—"He saith further, 'Me autem non semper habebitis;' 'Ye shall not have me always with you,' is to be understood in the flesh."

Harpsfield :—"The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present."²

Weston :—"But what say you to this of Augustine, 'Non est hic,' 'He is not here?'"

Harpsfield :—"I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tract. 25, upon these words, 'Non videbitis me, vado ad Patrem,' etc. 'I go to the Father, ye shall not see me;' that is, 'such as I am now.' Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence."

Weston :—"I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine; who saith this also, 'Quomodo quis possit tenere Christum? fidem mitte, et tenuisti;' i. e. 'How may a man hold Christ? send thy faith, and thou holdest him.'—So he sheweth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ."

Harpsfield :—"Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There, St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us."

Weston :—"Nay, he speaketh there, how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time; saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain? Further he saith, 'He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us.' 'Hic est majestate, abiit carne;' i. e. 'He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh.'"

Harpsfield :—"I do understand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh, to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving of him worthily, otherwise not."³

Weston :—"Nay, 'tenere carnem, est tenere corticem literæ.' I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.'"

Harpsfield :—"The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: the most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father.⁴ Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this (the body to be in heaven), they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

"So unless ye can plainly show that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have showed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said."

Weston :—"I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament. Vigilias against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, 'Me autem non semper habebitis,' saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us, by

(1) If the natural presence is here, then that is false which Augustine saith: "Secundum præsentiam carnis non est hic!"

(2) And how can we then give honour to him, to whom we can show no charity, nor give any thing else unto? What manner soever ye give to the body, if the substantial body be here indeed, it cannot be avoided, but either it must needs be false that St. Augustine saith, "Non est hic:" or else, Christ must have two bodies in two places together, present here after one manner, and in heaven after another manner.

(3) Note what Harpsfield here holdeth: that the body of Christ is not present in the sacrament, but only to them that receive him worthily.

(4) If the presence of his flesh be taken away, as Cyril saith, how then can the presence of his flesh be in the sacrament? Vigilias saith, his body is taken up. How then doth the same body remain still? unless either ye make him to have two bodies, or else make two contradictories true in one proposition.

(5) Rather upon "Expediit vobis ut ego eam." See Biblioth. Patr. Paris, 1576, tom. v. col. 549.—Ed.

*Mary.**A. D.
1554.*

his divinity he remaineth with us.' And the same Vigilius, in his fourth book saith, 'He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth;' speaking of Christ."

Harpsfield :—"I will show you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did believe, that the divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended; which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament: for what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament."

Weston :—"Cyril saith, 'Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.'"

Harpsfield :—"By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking thence our help: for as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he is there."¹

Weston :—"You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholically. But now to another argument.

"Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here."

"But when he did live bodily on earth; the same natural body was out of heaven:

"Ergo, Now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth."

Harpsfield :—"I deny the major."

Weston :—"Fulgentius² saith, 'Secundum humanam substantiam absens erat cœlo, cum descendit de cœlo.' These are Fulgentius's words touching his human substance: 'He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the divine nature, he never forsook, either heaven or earth.'"

After these words, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered master Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise:

The opinion of Harpsfield re-proved, referring the sense of the Scripture rather to the judgment of the church, than to the diligent reading and conferring of places. How Christ is present in the sacrament.

Cranmer :—"I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you yourself have already alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree therein among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer me to a few questions which I shall demand of you; which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

Then answered a doctor, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance."

Harpsfield :—"He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten."

Cranmer :—"My next question is, 'Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties?'"

Harpsfield :—"Are these your questions?" said master Harpsfield. "I may likewise ask you. 'When Christ passed through the Virgin's womb, an ruperit necne?'"

(1) The body of Christ is here to feed our bellies, but not to be lived withal.

(2) The argument holdeth "à proportionne."

(3) Ad Thrasimundum Regem, lib. ii.

When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus master doctors could not agree. Then master Cranmer said thus:

Cranmer:—"You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, 'Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?'"

Tresham:—"No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body."

Smith:—"Stay you master Tresham: I will answer you master doctor, with the words of Damascene, 'Transformatur panis,' etc.: 'The bread is transformed,' etc.:—but if thou wilt inquire how, 'Modus impossibilis,' 'The manner is impossible.'"

Christ's body without his properties, in the sacrament.

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cranmer:—"Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it."

Harsfield:—"These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them."

Weston:—"Hear me a while: Lanfranc, some time bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius upon such like questions, 'They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.'"

Cranmer:—"If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it."

Harsfield:—"He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Cranmer:—"I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body."

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a "quantum," some saying it to be "quantitativum," some affirming it to have "modum quanti;" some denying it; some one thing, some another;—up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is 'corpus quantum; sed non per modum quanti;'" i.e. "It is a body, having quantity; but not according to the manner of quantity."

The papists would have Christ's body in the sacrament, but they cannot tell how.

Whereunto master Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence.—How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself either, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended: indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of "quantums," and "quantitativums."¹ This that followeth was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think no. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Ward in the misty clouds of Duns's quiddities.
See Appendix.

Ward:—"We must consider," saith he, "that there are 'dus positiones,' two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole.

(1) "Salubriter credi possunt, fideliter queri non possunt." [Weston does not give the quotation quite accurately; it is, "Credi salubriter potest (mysterium), vestigare utiliter non potest." Biblioth. Patrum, tom. iv. col. 325. Edit. Paris, 1576.—Ed.]

(2) An instance of a somewhat similar style of arguing is cited from Joseph Angles, a Spanish author, in Rivet's "Catholicus Orthodoxus," tract iii. quest. 18, § 19.—Ed.

Mary. The other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's Predicaments,' called 'Situs.' I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is 'sine modo quantitativo,' as by an ensample: you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament 'quantum, sine modo quantitativo.'"

Christ,
"sine
modo
quantita-
tivo" in
the sacra-
ment.

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom master Cranmer said:—

*Cran-
mer's
argu-
ment.*

Cranmer :—"Then thus do I make my argument.

"In heaven his body hath quantity, in earth it hath none by your saying:

"Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth."

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said master Harpsfield:

Harpsfield :—"I deny your argument;" [though some would not have had him say so.]

Cranmer :—"The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold."

Harpsfield :—"I deny that there are contradictions."

Cranmer :—"I thus prove it.

"Habere modum quantitativum et non habere, sunt contradictoria."

"Sed Christus in cœlis, ut dicitis, habet modum quantitativum; in terra non habet:

"Ergo, Duo sunt corpora ejus in quæ cadunt hæc contradictoria; nam in idem cadere non possunt."

Weston :—"I deny the minor."

Harpsfield :—"I answer that the major is not true. For 'habere quantum, et non habere, non sunt contradictoria, nisi sic considerentur, ejusdem ad idem, eodem modo et simpliciter.'"

Weston :—"I confirm the same: for one body may have 'modum quantitativum,' and not have; and 'idem corpus' was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds and not wounds."

Cranmer :—"This cannot be at one time."

Weston :—"The ensample of the pottor doth prove that which I say; who of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith."

Cranmer :—"But I say again, that it is so; but at divers times: as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have 'modum quantitativum,' and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have showed you."

Weston :—"But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant."*

Seton :—"You may ask as well other questions—how he is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?"

Cranmer :—"You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next, I do ask this question: Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?"

Harpsfield :—"Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon king's palaces, and on dung-heaps."

Cranmer :—"Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?"

Harpsfield :—"These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked."

Cranmer :—"I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which

(1) Aristotle must help to tell us how Christ is in the sacrament.

(2) "Impossibile est, idem simul esse et non esse." Aristotle 4. Metaph.

(3) Passible and impassible cannot stand together in one subject. "Simul et ejusdem respectu et eodem tempore, propter rerum pugnantiam." Christ's body to be passible and not passible at the supper, it appeareth by these words: "that shall be given for you."

(4) That remaineth yet unproved. Harpsfield seemed, a little before, to note the contrary, where he said, That the flesh of Christ, to them that receive him not worthily, is not present.

you yourselves do most use: and there, also, do I learn to ask, how far he goeth into the body." *Mary.*

Harpsfield:—"We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul: 'eousque progreditur corpus quousque species.'" A.D. 1554.

Cranmer:—"How long doth he abide in the body?"

Seton:—"St. Augustine saith, 'Our flesh goeth into his flesh.' But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us, to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed."

Here master Tresham and one master London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body.

Harpsfield:—"You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us."

Cranmer:—"I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine; and yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? etc.: the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument." Cranmer's argument in the second figure and second mood.

Be- "They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

ro- "But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

co. "Ergo, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Harpsfield:—"I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man doth eat, he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner." Answer insufficient.

Cranmer:—"I cannot tell what manner ye appoint; but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in John vi."

Harpsfield:—"In John vi. some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly."

Cranmer:—"Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men."

Harpsfield:—"If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant."

Cranmer:—"Now to the argument: 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?" Evil men do not eat the body of Christ.

Tresham:—"You must add, 'Qui manducat dignè,' 'He that eateth worthily.'"

Cranmer:—"I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of."

Weston:—"Augustine 'ad Fratres in Eremo,'" sermon 28. 'Est quidam manducandi modus;' that is, 'There is a certain manner of eating:' Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily."

Harpsfield:—"All things in John vi. are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the supper of the Lord, before they come unto 'Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,'" etc. How St. John is to be referred after the papists.

Cranmer:—"There is entreating of manna, both before and after."

Harpsfield:—"I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away:—That manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not its efficacy of itself, but of God."

(1) Sed species non progreditur usque ad animam: ergo nec corpus Christi non pascit corpus et animam.—These men would needs have a bodily presence, yet would they not, or else could not, bring any reason how.

(2) This work is considered spurious. See Edit. Bened. tom. vi. Jenkyns, p. 73.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.Com-
pari-
son
between
eating of
manna,
and eat-
ing the
body of
Christ.

Cranmer :—" But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby : and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both ; and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason."

Harpsfield :—" When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna."

[If master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation : but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter ; so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.]

Cranmer :—" They, then, which do eat either of them worthily, do live."

Harpsfield :—" They do live which do eat manna worthily ; not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The others which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same."

Cranmer :—" Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed : he doth not speak of the cause, whereof the effect proceedeth."

Harpsfield :—" I do say, the effects are diverse—life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof."

Cranmer :—" Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily. Christ spake absolutely of manna, and of the supper ; so that, after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine, upon these words, ' Qui manducat,' etc., saith, ' There are no such respects in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily : but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.'¹ But you know wicked men do not so.—Ergo, Wicked men do not receive."

Harpsfield :—" St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, etc., after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner."

Argu-
ment in
the
second
figure and
second
mood.
Cranmer
com-
mended
for his
modesty.

Ca- *Cranmer* :—" Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body.

me- " But the evil men are not of the mystical body.

tres. " Ergo, They do not participate Christ."

Weston :—" Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good master doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation : and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."

At this saying, all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then master Weston did oppose the respondent on this wise :—

Weston :—" Tertullian doth call the sacrament, ' the sign and figure of the Lord.' St. Augustine ad Dardanum saith, ' The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

(1) Aug. in Johan. Tract 26.

(2) Tertul. cont. Marcion.

(3) "Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis."

"Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: 'If the Scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example:¹ To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.' "

Mery.
A. D.
1554.

Harpfield :—"Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, a heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to show, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he showed him, that it was the figure of Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

Answer
to Tertul-
lian.

"To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names; for it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

Answer
to Augus-
tine, ad
Darda-
num.

"To the third: that which is brought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood; as tending to a general manner of eating: so 'Manducare carnem, et bibere sanguinem,' 'To eat the flesh, and drink the blood,' may be a figurative speech to exclude 'Anthropophagiam,' i. e. 'The eating of man's flesh.' The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament."

Answer
to Augus-
tine; de
Doctrina
Christiana.

Weston :—"I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

The
second
question.

"The Scripture calleth it bread:

"Ergo, It is bread."

Harpfield :—"In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat."

Weston :—"Theodoret an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

Harpfield :—"He doth there speak 'de symbolo,' which is 'Externa species sacramenti,' i. e. 'The outward form of the sacrament.' He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature."

A single-
sole an-
swer to
Theo-
doret.

[Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer Augustine, "In sententiis Prosperi."]

Weston :—"Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine saith, 'Nec naturam egrediuntur, manent etiam in sua substantia.' 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance.'"

Harpfield :—"They are understood to be of the same substance wherein they are turned."²

Weston :—"But what say you to this? 'Manent in priori substantia,' i. e. 'They remain in their former substance.'"

Harpfield :—"Symbola manent,' i. e. 'The outward signs do tarry.'"

Weston :—"But what is meant here by this word 'symbolum?'"

Harpfield :—"The outward form or shape only of the nature."

Sym-
bolum,
quid.

Weston :—"Then you cannot call them a substance."

Harpfield :—"Yea, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind."

Weston :—"That is true; but accidents are not substances in their kind."

Harpfield :—"Sunt quid in suo genere."

[Of this they contended much.]

Weston :—"Chrysostome saith, 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body; whereas the nature doth remain.' "

(1) "Manducare carnem, et bibere sanguinem est tropicus sermo." August. de Doctrina Christiana.

(2) And how are they turned, if they remain "in priori substantia."

(3) "Sicut, antequam consecratur, panis est: sic, postquam consecratur, liberatur est ab appellatione panis, donatusque est appellatione corporis Domini, cum natura remanet." Chrysost. ad Caesarium Monachum. [See Appendix.]

- Mary.* Harpsfield :—" Where read you this place, I pray you?"
- A. D.* Weston :—" Here, in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand."
- 1554.* Harpsfield :—" The author shall be of more credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer unto it."
- Weston :—" Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, that the nature of bread and wine do tarry."
- Gelasius. Harpsfield :—" What is that Gelasius?"
- Weston :—" A bishop of Rome."
- Harpsfield :—" Then he allowed the mass?"
- Weston :—" Yea, and oftentimes said it: and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to saints."
- Harpsfield :—" Belike then, he meant nothing against transubstantiation."
- Weston :—" It doth appear so indeed. But Origen¹ saith, that the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."
- Harpsfield :—" Tush, tush! this place appertaineth unto holy bread."
- Weston :—" What! doth it appertain to holy bread?"
- Harpsfield :—" Yea, unto holy bread."
- Weston :—" By what means can you show how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?"
- Harpsfield :—" By the Scripture I prove that, which saith, ' Hoc est corpus meum, ' This is my body. ' "
- Weston :—" It doth rejoice all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion: by the which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture.
- " And here, I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you; and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, ' In oppositum est sacra theologia; in oppositum est, ' " etc.

Certain Observations or Censures given to the Reader, upon the Disputations of the Bishops and Doctors above mentioned.

DECLARING WHAT JUDGMENT IS TO BE GIVEN, AS WELL
TOUCHING THE ARGUMENTS OF THE ADVERSARIES, AND
ALSO TO THE ANSWERS OF THE MARTYRS.

*See
Appendix.*

Thus ye have heard, in these aforesaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor triumphing before the victory with "*vicit veritas*;" who rather in my mind should have exclaimed "*vicit potestas*:" as it happeneth always "*ubi pars major vincit meliorem*." For else if "*potestas*" had not helped the prolocutor more than "*veritas*," there had been a small "*victoria*." But so it is, where judgments be partial and parties be addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple: but, contrariwise, all partiality set apart, if censure should be given upon these disputations with upright and indifferent judgment, weighing with the arguments of the one

(1) Origen in Matt. xv.

(2) For these observations, etc. to the close of the Queen's letter to the mayor and aldermen of Oxford, on page 552, see Edition 1663, pages 991 to 999 inclusive. In later Editions Foxe sums up the disputations in these words: "First, of the opponents' part, neither was there almost any argument in true mood and figure rightly framed: neither could the answerers be permitted to say for themselves; and if they answered any thing, it was condemned before they began to speak. Again, such disturbance and confusion, more like a conspiracy than any disputation, without all form and order, was in the schools during the time of their answering, that neither could the answerers have place to utter their minds, neither would the opponents be satisfied with any reasons."

side the answers of the other, we shall perceive victory there falsely bragged, where no victory was. *Mary.*

If in these disputations it had so been, that the distinction of the answerers had been wiped away or removed by the opposers; or if the arguments of the opponents' side had been so strong that they could not be dissolved of the answerer, then would I confess victory gotten. But seeing now all the arguments, brought against the bishops, to be taken away by a plain distinction of Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally: and, again, this distinction of theirs so to stand in force, that the contrary arguments of the other part were not able to infringe the same, therefore we must say, as is said, "vicit non veritas, sed potestas."

A.D.
1554.

And, for the reader's sake, to make the matter more largely and evidently to appear, concerning the distinction made of the bishops in this disputation (whereby they did both repeat the arguments objected, and manfully maintain the verity), here have we, as in a brief sum or table, expressed, as well their arguments, as the distinctions and answers of the other part to the same.

In these disputations the controversy is of the body of Christ, either to be present with us, or to be eaten of us, or to be united to us; which presence, eating, and uniting of him to us, standeth three manner of ways, Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally. And these three things must be considered after three divers respects; for the lack of the knowledge and consideration whereof, the papists, who take upon them most to maintain this matter, are much deceived and deceive many; of whom I cannot marvel enough, that they, being so full of distinctions in all their other questions, in this one matter neither will make distinction themselves, nor abide it in others. For who seeth not that the presence of Christ's body is one, to the faith and spirit of man—which is spiritual; and another to the body of man—which is bodily.

The body of Christ present, eaten, and united, really, spiritually, and sacramentally.

Besides these two, there is also another presence differing from them both, which is "sacramental." Of things diverse and differing in themselves we must speak diversely, except we will confound things together which nature hath distincted asunder. Now they of the catholic part, as they call themselves (other men call them papists), whether for rudeness they cannot, or for wilfulness they will not see, speaking of the real presence of Christ, think there is no other presence of Christ real but in the sacrament; being deceived therein two manner of ways. First, that they consider not the nature of a sacrament; which is, not to exhibit the thing in deed which it doth represent, but to represent effectually one thing by another: for that is the property of a sacrament to bear a similitude of one thing by another thing; of the which two things the one is represented, the other in deed exhibited. Secondly, that they consider not the operation of faith, which, penetrating up to heaven, there apprehendeth the real body of Christ, no less, yea and more effectually, than if he were here bodily present to the eye.

A double error of the papists.

To these two, the third error also of these men may be added: in that they seem either not to weigh the operation of Christ's passion enough, or else, not to feel the heavy torment of sin and miserable hunger of man's soul; which, if they did feel, they would easily

Marg. perceive what a necessary and opportune nourishment to man's conscience, were the body of Christ on the cross broken, and his blood shed.

A. D.
1554.

Wherefore these are to be distincted after their right terms. For that which is sacramental, by and by, is not real; and, like as the real presence of Christ's body is to be distincted from the spiritual presence, so is it to be said of the eating, and also of the co-uniting or conjunction, betwixt his body and us: for as there is a real eating, so there is a spiritual eating, and also a sacramental eating.

The
eating of
Christ
with the
sacra-
ment and
without
the sacra-
ment.

Now the papists, whensoever they speak or read of the eating of Christ's body, conceive no other eating of him but only of that in the sacrament, and no otherwise; which is false and the cause of great error, in that they see not, neither do consider, *how* Christ is eaten, not only with the symbols or sacrament, but also without the sacrament: which eating standeth inwardly by faith, and pertaineth to the spirit of man, in apprehending or digesting with the stomach of faith those things which by the outward sacrament are represented. And of this spiritual eating of Christ speaketh the sixth chapter of St. John.

Besides this spiritual eating there is also a sacramental manducation of Christ his body, under, and with, the elements of bread and wine; that is, when both the mouth and spirit of man receiveth both the bread and the body together, in divers and sundry respects, bread substantially, the body sacramentally. The spirit receiveth the body only and not the bread.

The like distinction also is to be made of the uniting or conjunction betwixt Christ and us which is both real, spiritual, and sacramental.

Further, here is to be noted, that to this sacramentally uniting, eating, and presence of Christ, in or under the sacrament, belong two things, Mutation and Operation, which the doctors much speak of. This "Mutation" is double, substantial and accidental.

Mutation is called *substantial*, when one substance is changed into another, as water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, etc.; and this mutation, which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the Lord's Supper.

The other mutation, which is *accidental* (whereof the doctors entreat), standeth in three points: that is, when the use, the name, and the honour of the sacramental elements be changed. In use: as, when the use of common bread is changed to a mystical and heavenly use, the name of bread and wine is changed to the name of the body and blood of Christ; the honour, from a not reverent, to a reverent receiving of the same, etc.

About "Operation" the Romish clergy make much ado; thinking there is no other operation but only transubstantiation. And this operation they ascribe to the five words of the priest: saying, that Christ, in calling a thing, maketh the thing so to be.

We affirm also that the words of Christ do work, but not as they do say; to wit, they work effectually in the material bread and wine: not in altering or trans-elementing the substance there, as Harding saith, page 489, but in sanctifying the aforesaid creatures to be a sacrament, which cannot be but only by the virtue of the word and of the

Holy Ghost, as St. Austen saith;¹ for else no priest or creature hath any such power to make a sacrament.

Of these foresaid distinctions here followeth a brief Table to make the contents hereof more plain.

Mary.

A.D.

1554.

A Table declaring divers and sundry respects how the holy real body of Christ our Saviour, both in the Sacrament and beside the Sacrament is present, eaten, and united to us.

The Body of Christ.	REALLY.	PRESENT.	So was the body of Christ once present here on earth with us, and shall be again at the day of his coming. Otherwise it is not here really present but only to our faith, really apprehending his body in heaven, and here feeding upon the same in earth. And thus is he present only to good men, whether with the symbols or without the symbols.	EATEN.	Really, not with our bodily mouth, but with the mouth of faith, apprehending the real body of Christ, which suffered for us, and worketh to us nourishment of life and grace, &c.	UNITED.	Really and corporally the body of Christ is united to us by his incarnation, and the partaking of our flesh.
	SPIRITUALLY.	PRESENT.	Spiritually we say his body to be present, when either the body of Christ is present to our spirit and faith, or when the virtue of his body is present and redoundeth to our bodies and spirits by grace: and this differeth from the other real presence above in this, that the one hath respect to the body apprehended: the other to the thing that doth apprehend.	EATEN.	Spiritually, we eat the body and blood of Christ, not with mouth and teeth, but with faith only, whosoever we believe on the passion of Christ, being the true bread of life and the only food of man's soul. And thus is he eaten, but only of good men, as well besides the sacrament, as with the sacrament. And of this eating speaketh the 6th of John. And so was he eaten in the time also of the old law.	UNITED.	Spiritually he is united unto us, when the properties of his holy body: as his innocency, power, glorification, eternity, beatitude, &c. are united to our bodies and spirits, which cometh by our faith in him, according to his words John xvii. Ego in eis, et tu in me, &c. And this uniting standing by grace, cometh as well besides the sacrament, as with the sacrament, only to the Godly.
	SACRAMENTALLY.	PRESENT.	Sacramentally his body is present by representation of another thing, which beareth a similitude or a memorial of his body: and this sacramental presence, pertaining to the outward mouth of the receiver, is common as well to the good, as to the evil. And this sacramental presence ought not to be alone, but to be joined with the spiritual presence, &c.	EATEN.	Sacramentally, we eat with our bodily mouth the mysteries of bread and wine, not being the real body in deed, but representing the real body in deed. i. e. Non panem dominum, sed panem domini: and this eating, if it be not joined with the other two above it profiteth nothing, and so is eaten only of the evil. If it be adjoined, then is it eaten of the good, and them it profiteth.	UNITED.	The sacrament, as it is not the real body itself of the Lord: so it causeth not itself any real conjunction betwixt Christ's real body and ours, but representeth the same, declaring, that as the material bread digested in our bodies is united to the same, so the body of Christ being received by faith changeth our spirits and bodies to the nature of him.

(1) August. de Trinitate, lib. iii. cap. 4.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

*To the sacramental
presence and
eating of
Christ, pertaineth two
things chiefly
to be considered.*

MUTATION.

SUBSTANTIAL.

Whereby one substance is changed into another: as, water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c. And this mutation (which they call transubstantiation) belongeth nothing to the sacrament. For then accidents of bread should also be changed, as the accidents of Aaron's rod were changed with the substance into a serpent.

ACCIDENTAL.

*And of this
mutation speak
the doctors,
meaning not of
the change of
substance, but
of accidents,
which standeth
in three things.*

1. In the use.

As when the use of common bread is changed into a mystical and heavenly use.

2. In name.

When the name of bread and wine pass away, and are changed into the name of the body and blood of the Lord, and so is the name changed.

3. In honour.

As when the bread and wine which before were received not with honour, are now received with honour and reverence: not that we honour the bread and wine, but the things represented in them. As in a king's letters and seal, we honour the king and not the seal.

IN THE SACRAMENTS

The operation of the word in the sacraments is this, to change not the substance of the sacrament: but that the substance thereof remaining, may be made the body of Christ: that is, the sacrament of the body of Christ. And this operation can not come but by the Holy Ghost. Whereof August. lib. iii. cap. 4, de Trinitate, saith: Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.

OPERATION.

OF THE SACRAMENTS

The operation of Sacraments is thought of the Papists to give grace, which in very deed give not grace of their own work: but only serve as instruments and means of that grace and life, which cometh from God. So Peter calleth verbum vite, the word of life: and St. Paul calleth the Gospel of Christ the power of God to salvation: not that they themselves give life and salvation, but that they are certain means and instruments of that life and salvation, which cometh to us from God.

<i>Mary.</i> <hr/> A.D. 1554.	Christ to come: as Manna, the Rock, &c.	Signifying	Of the Old Testament.	Bodily, or Sacramental.	Of the New Testament.	To the spiritual presence and manducation of Christ, princi- pally belongeth the 6th chap. of St. John: albeit, two sorts of bread are there specified.
August. in Psalm 77. [§ 2.] Idem in mysterio cibus illorum et noster, significatione idem, sed non specie.						
Spiritual bread, which is Christ himself, born for us, and given for the life of the world, John 6. My flesh is meat in deed, &c.						

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, in this aforesaid table set forth unto thee the diverse respects how the real body of our Saviour is eaten *in* the sacrament and *out* of the sacrament, etc. By which table, if thou mark it well, thou mayest answer easily to the most part of the arguments which the papists bring. And now these things being premised, let us see and examine the arguments of the aforesaid doctors, here in brief sum repeated again, and, afterwards, annex the resolution of the same, with the number also of the pages where they are to be found.

A Table of the Principal Arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer.

I. *Chadsey*:—That thing which was given for us, is here contained; ex verbis Christi. See page 449.

The substance of bread was not given for us: Ergo, the substance of bread is not contained in the sacrament.

II. *Oglethorpe*:—This word *body*, being “*prædicatum*,” doth signify substance. See page 450.

But one substance is not predicated, or affirmed denominatively, upon another: Ergo, it is an essential predication, and, so, it is his true body and not a figure of his body.

III. *Oglethorpe*:—Christ hath no less care for his espouse than a father for his household. See page 450.

No father maketh his will with tropes for deceiving his household: Ergo, Christ used no tropes in making his Will or Testament.

IV. *Weston*:—A good heir will not say that the testator did lie.¹ See page 450.

Whoso saith, that the testator “spake by figures,” saith that the testator did lie: Ergo, he that saith that Christ our testator spake by figures is no good heir.

V. *Cole*:—If it be bread it cannot be the body; a disparatia. See page 451.

But Christ saith it is his body: Ergo, it cannot be bread.

(1) Augustine in Psalm lxxvii. [§ 2.] “Idem in mysterio cibus illorum et noster, significatione idem, sed non specie.”

(2) Augustin. De unitate Eccles. cap. 10. [§ 28.]

- Mary.* VI. *Weston*.—The same flesh is given us to be eaten, by which he is made our brother and kinsman.¹ See page 451.
- A.D.* By his true, natural, and organical flesh, he is made our brother and kinsman: Ergo, he gave us his true and organical flesh to eat.
- 1554.* VII. *Weston*.—He gave us the same flesh, which he took of the Virgin. See page 452.
- He took his flesh of the Virgin not spiritually: Ergo, he gave his true flesh and not [his flesh] spiritually.
- VIII. *Weston*.—As mothers nourish their children with their milk, so Christ nourished us with his body.² See page 452.
- Mothers nourish not their infants spiritually with their milk: Ergo, Christ nourisheth us not spiritually with his body.
- IX. *Weston*.—If Christ gave wine for his blood, then he gave less than mothers to their infants.³ See page 452.
- Chrysostome saith, "Christ gave more to us, than mothers to their infants:" Ergo, he gave not wine for his blood.
- X. *Weston*.—That thing which is worthy the highest honour, is showed forth in earth.⁴ See page 453.
- Christ's body is worthy the highest honour: Ergo, Christ's body is showed forth in earth.
- XI. *Chedsey*.—The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.⁵ See page 456.
- The soul is fed by the body of Christ: Ergo, the body eateth the body of Christ.
- XII. *Chedsey*.—The flesh eateth Christ's body that the soul may be fed therewith.⁶ See page 456.
- The soul is not fed with the sacrament but with Christ's body: Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ.
- XIII. *Tresham*.—As Christ liveth by his Father, so we live by his flesh eaten of us. See page 458.
- Christ liveth by his Father naturally, not by unity of will: Ergo, we live by eating Christ's flesh naturally, not by faith only and will.
- XIV. *Young*.—A figurative speech is no working thing; Christ's speech is a working thing:⁷ (see page 462:) Ergo, Christ's speech is not figurative in this sacrament.⁸
- XV. *Pie*.—The words of Christ work that, there, which redeemed the people. See page 464.
- The natural blood of Christ redeemed the people: Ergo, the words of Christ make, there, the natural blood of Christ.
- XVI. *Chedsey*.—As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament. See page 466.
- But Christ is truly and really incarnate: Ergo, Christ is truly and really in the sacrament.⁹
- XVII. *Weston*.—The substance of our flesh could not be increased thereby, except it were the true body and blood of Christ. See page 467.
- But the substance of our body is increased thereby, which we receive in the sacrament:¹⁰ Ergo, it is the true body and blood, which we receive in the sacrament.¹¹

A Table of the Principal Arguments objected against Doctor Ridley.

XVIII. *Smith*.—Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth: (see page 481.) Ergo, notwithstanding his ascension, and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on earth.

Or thus; Christ's ascension into heaven letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, seen on the earth: Ergo, his ascension letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, in the sacrament.

(1) Chrysostom. ad popul. Antioch. Hom. 61. [In Johan. hom. 46. § 3.]

(2) Ex Chrysost. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Hom. [82, § 5.] (3) Ex Chrysost. ut supra.

(4) Ex Chrysost. Hom. 24. [in 1 Cor. § 5.]

(5) Ex Tertul. "De Carnis Resurrectione."

(6) Ex Tertul. ibid. (7) Ambrosius, "De Sacrament." Lib. iv. cap. 9. "De ille qui instituitur."

(8) Crassmerus.—"Dicendo dixit non fecit dicendo."

(9) Ex Justin. Apolog. 2. [§ 66.] (10) Ex Ireneo. [lib. v. cap. 2.]

(11) Crassmerus.—"Tert. nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi."

XIX. *Weston* :—We offer one thing at all times. There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete :¹ (see page 482 :) Ergo, by *Mory.*
Chrysostome, there is one body both in heaven and earth. *A.D.*

XX. *Smith* :—He was seen of Paul as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven [1 Cor. xv.]. See page 483. *1554.*

But his vision was a corporal vision : Ergo, he was seen corporally on earth, after his ascension.

XXI. *Tresham* :—He was seen after such sort that he might be heard : (see page 484 :) Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard.

XXII. *Smith* :—He was seen so of him as of others. See page 484.

But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visible to them on earth : Ergo, he was seen of Paul on earth.

XXIII. *Weston* :—Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him :² Ergo, he is present here with us. See page 486.

XXIV. *Ward* :—He delivered that which he bade them take. See page 488.
But he bade them not take material bread, but his own body : Ergo, he gave not material bread, but his own body.

XXV. *Weston* :—That which Christ gave we do give. See page 489.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body :³ Ergo, we give no figure, but his body.

XXVI. *Ward* :—My sheep hear my voice and follow me. See page 489.

But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, "This is my body," without a figure : Ergo, the voice of Christ, here, hath no figure.

XXVII. *Ward* :—Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.⁴ See page 490.

But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper and in the sacrament of the altar : Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ.

XXVIII. *Ward* :—He desired to eat his passover. See page 490.

But the Judaical passover was not his : Ergo, he meant not of the Judaical passover.

XXIX. *Ward* :—He gave us his flesh to be eaten, which he took of the earth, in which, also, he here walked,⁵ etc. See page 491.

But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, "This is my body :"⁶ Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh.

XXX. *Curtop* :—That which is in the cup is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.⁷ See page 493.

But his true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ : Ergo, his true and pure blood is in the cup.

XXXI. *Watson* :—Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it. See page 494.

But bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto it : Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacraments.

XXXII. *Smith* :—Every man may bear, in his own hands, a figure of his body. See page 496.

But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands : Ergo, Augustine⁸ speaketh of no figure of his body.

XXXIII. *Tresham* :—Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ :⁹ (see page 497 :) Ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar.

XXXIV. *Weston* :—We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger.⁹ See page 500.

But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual : Ergo, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

Seton's argument, formed by Weston :—You say, That which was forbidden in the Old Testament is commanded in the New. See page 508.

(1) Chrysost. Hom. 17. ad Hebræos. [§ 2.] (2) Chrysost. Hom. 2. "Ad pop. Antioch." [§ 9.]

(3) Ex Theophylacto. (4) Ex Justin. Apolog. 2. [§ 66.] (5) Ex Augustin. in Psalm. xlviii.

(6) Chrys. 1 Cor. x. ; Hom. 24. (7) On Psalm xxxiii. Conc. 1. [§ 10.]

(8) August. lib. v. "Contra Donatistas." cap. 8. (9) Ex Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 24. [§ 5.]

*Mary.**A. D.**1554.*

To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament and commanded in the New : Ergo, by your own saying, it is the very blood that we drink in the New. *Cartwright* :—If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time. See page 508.

But Christ would not suffer his church to err : Ergo, it is the true body of Christ.

The Argument of Doctor Cranmer objecting against Harpsfield.

Doctor Cranmer :—Christ's body, in heaven, hath quantity. See page 516.

The papists say, Christ's body in earth hath no quantity : Ergo, by the papists Christ hath two bodies, one in heaven, another in earth.

Doctor Cranmer :—They that do eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them. See page 517.

The wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them : Ergo, the wicked eat not his flesh, nor drink his blood.

HERE FOLLOW THE ANSWERS AND RESOLUTIONS TO THE ARGUMENTS ABOVE MENTIONED, BY NUMBER AND ORDER OF THE SAME ;

And first to the Arguments objected against Doctor Cranmer.¹

I. First, to answer to Chedsey's first argument : Cranmer denieth the argument, and may well so do, for the form thereof is faulty ; which, being in the first figure, hath his minor negative. Again, he answereth to the major by a distinction, being two ways : How the body may be contained Really :—and so it is false ; Sacramentally,—and so it is true.

Papa est
lupus
rapax,
one sub-
stance
affirmed
of another
denomi-
natively.

II. One substance or "disparatum" cannot be affirmed of another properly ; but figuratively it may : and therefore we say this is a figurative locution : Bread is the body of Christ (meaning bread to be a figure of the body).

III. The minor is false ; for, though equivocation of one word sometimes, peradventure, may deceive, yet the whole sense or locution, being tropical, doth not deceive, but rather serveth for beautifying of the oration, and for the better help of the hearers. And if the trope be not perceived of all, the fault is not in the trope, but in their ignorance.

IV. The authority of St. Augustine, "De unitate Ecclesie," proveth the major, which we also do allow. For who knoweth not that a man, at his death, will commonly speak the truth ? But we deny the minor, That he which speaketh by figure or trope doth lie : that St. Augustine yet hath not proved, nor Dr. Weston either. Christ, after his supper, being more near his death ; saith, "Transferatur a me calix iste ;" calling his passion "the cup," by a metaphor ; yet he lied not.

V. Cole saith, "This argument cannot be dissolved." But Cranmer's answer cannot be infringed ; for, if one "disparatum" cannot be affirmed of another by any way than by that rule, "Christ is not the rock ;" "Bread cannot be the body" (being disparate one from the other) I grant, speaking properly ; but figuratively or sacramentally, it may.

VI. and VII. Cranmer answereth to the major by a distinction : "The same body is given which was born of the Virgin, but not after the same manner." Of the Virgin, his body was born really : in the sacrament, it is eaten sacramentally and figuratively.

VIII. The nourishment of mothers and of Christ agree in this, wherein they are compared : that is, that they both do nourish their children with their own bodies, but not after one way of nourishing. The mother feedeth her infant by putting her milk into his mouth and body, really ; Christ likewise feedeth us with his body broken for us ; but not in putting his flesh broken into our bodies, but in offering the passion of his body to our faith spiritually, and in the bread sacramentally.

IX. The major is false : Christ giveth not only wine for his blood, but giveth both wine and his blood. Wine as a holy sacrament of his blood, to be taken

(1) These answers of John Foxe, not being interesting to general readers, are printed in small type.—Ed.

with mouth, wherein, not the wine, but his blood, is to be considered; and also, besides the wine, he giveth his blood to be received with faith, and these two be more than mothers give to their infants.

X. In this argument is a point of false packing; for where Chrysostome hath, "Ostenditur in terrâ," the prolocutor thrusteth in "est in terrâ." And so is the argument answered—the body of Christ is showed here on earth in a sacrament, and the same body, so showed, is worthy highest honour.

XI. and XII. This argument is to be denied for lack of form, except Chedsey would thus form it: "The soul of man is fed therewith that the body eateth; The soul of man is fed with Christ's body, and not with sacraments: ergo, the body of man eateth the body of Christ, and not the sacrament," etc.—First, the major is false as it standeth. And here note the deceit of Chedsey in putting in "therewith," which Tertullian hath not; his words be these, "Caro abluitor, ut anima emaculetur; caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut anima de Deo saginetur;" etc.—Here Chedsey, for "de Deo," hath "de eo;" which corrupteth the meaning of Tertullian, who saith "de Deo;" meaning that the soul is fed spiritually, and the body sacramentally. Secondly, to the minor: if the soul be not fed with the sacraments, how is it true then that the papists say the sacraments give grace?

XIII. The major is false and to be denied: for the similitude of Christ's living by his Father, and our living by eating the body of Christ, is not like. For if Christ live, naturally, by his Father, so do not we eat the body of Christ naturally in the sacrament, nor live naturally by eating the same; but naturally we live by Christ, in that he took our natural body—not that we eat his natural body.

XIV. To the minor it is answered by a distinction: "For the speech of Christ worketh two manner of ways, by making, and by instituting." The speech of Christ, at the supper, worketh, not by making any new substance or by changing the old, but by instituting a sacrament by the power of the word and of the Holy Spirit; of which instituting St. Augustine speaketh: "Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei."

XV. To the major, being grounded upon the words of Ambrose, the archbishop answereth, That there is the same blood which redeemed the people, but not after the same manner; for, on the cross, the blood of Christ was there, simply and really: at the supper and in the cup, it is sacramentally and by a similitude. As Ambrose saith himself in another place, "As thou hast received the similitude of his death so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."—[De Sacram. lib. iv. cap. 4.]

XVI. As concerning this argument here is to be noted, that the archbishop found fault with Chedsey for false translating of Justin, "Cibum illum consecratum per sermonem," etc.; where as the Greek text of Justin hath not *λεπυθεῖσαν*, but *εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν*; that is "non consecratum," meat not consecrated, but over which thanks be given, etc. Then to the argument; If Christ be so truly in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate of the Virgin, then can there be no transubstantiation; for, as "Verbum caro factum est," not by changing the substance of the word into the substance of flesh, so is not the substance of bread changed into the body.

XVII. To the XVIIth, the major, as it standeth, is not to be granted: "The substance of our flesh may be nourished and increased with that which is received, though it be not the true and real body of Christ; for the bread, being a sacrament of Christ's real body, may feed the body of man, and so doth the real body of Christ properly feed the soul and not the body; as Tertullian saith, 'Nutritur corpus pane symbolico, anima corpore Christi.'"

Next follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments objected against Dr. Ridley; wherein the less labour shall need to be taken, because he, being more practised in the schools, hath sufficiently and fully answered the same before.

XVIII. Argument: This argument doth not hold; and that for three causes, as Dr. Ridley in his answers seemeth to infer. First, that the presence of Christ

(1) Augustin. lib. iii. "de Trinitate."

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

Dicendo
dixit, sed
non fecit
dicendo:
sed instituit.

Chedsey
falsifying
Justin's
words.

Mery.

A. D.
1554.

may be upon earth "secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet," and not according to his real or corporal substance; and so he granteth his ascension not to let his presence to be in the sacrament. Secondly, if Christ, after his ascension, was seen here in earth, as to Paul, Stephen, and Peter, etc., yet, whether he appeared from heaven to them on earth, or whether their eyes from earth were rapt up to him in heaven, it is doubtful; and of things doubtful no certain judgment can be given. Thirdly, though he had so manifested himself at certain times to be seen as pleased him, yet by that is proved that he *was*, and not that he *is* present here now in earth; and therefore, as this, his abiding in heaven is no let but that he may be in the sacrament if he list, so this his appearing sometimes on the earth, is no proof that he list now to be in the sacrament when he may.

XIX. To the antecedent: "One Christ is complete at all times, and in all places;" but Chrysostome saith not, that *one body* of Christ is in all places.

XX. and XXI. It may be that Christ might appear to Paul, not he coming down from heaven—but that the eyes of Paul, rising up to heaven, there might apprehend him. Again it may be, that the power and glory of Christ might appear to Paul, and yet the body of Christ remain still in heaven; but, if his body was then really present on earth, yet his body was not at one time both in heaven and earth together. But what should we say then to the pix? If the body of Christ be so often on the altar and so long in the pix as they make him, then, by this reason, Christ's body is either seldom, or never, lightly, in heaven.

XXII. He answereth to the minor by a distinction: If the being or appearing of Christ here on the earth be referred as to a place, so he denieth that Paul or others did see him corporally being here on earth; but if it be referred as to the verity of his person, so he granteth it may be. And yet, as is said, whether he descended down, or their spirits ascended up, it is doubtful: certes, to whomsoever he appeared, yet his appearing was in the air above, and not on the earth.

XXIII. The force of this argument is grounded upon Chrysostome,¹ "Christus et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit." To the which it is thus answered: That Christ both took his flesh and left the same with us; but not after the same manner: for he took up his flesh really, and left the same behind sacramentally. And therein he did more than Elias, for he, as he left his mantle behind him really, so he took the same with him no manner of way.

XXIV. In this argument of master Ward, as the terms stand, is neither right figure nor mode. Again, there is a "fallax a dicto secundum quid ad id quod simpliciter;" and therefore the minor is well denied. For Christ, in giving them his body to eat, did not give his body "simpliciter" to be eaten, but after a certain manner, that is, sacramentally his body, and materially bread; and so both bread and his body, in sundry respects.

XXV. The minor of this argument standeth upon Theophilact,² "Non dixit figura est carnis mee, sed caro mea est;" which author, as he is not to be numbered among the most ancient, so neither among the most soundest writers. He was about that time, when this controversy about transubstantiation began first to grow, and when the contention was between the Greek church and the Latin about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, etc. But, to let authority stand: to this place upon St. Mark is answered by another place of the said author upon St. John, cap. vi.: "Attende quod panis in mysteriis non est tantum figuratio quædam carnis Domini, sed ipsa caro Domini," etc.; meaning that above, which he speaketh here, that the sacrament is not only a figure (that is, no bare and void figure), but a reverent sacrament of the body, and, after a manner, the body itself, of Christ.

XXVI. The minor hereof is untrue, if it stand universally for all the true sheep of Christ.

XXVII. The major of this argument, taken out of Justin,³ may be taken two ways: for the giving of the body of Christ, may be understood either really, and so the major is false; or spiritually, and so the minor faileth: for he gave his flesh, not only in the supper, but also on the cross.

XXVIII. The major is false: The Judaical passover is *not* strange from Christ, for that he is the Lord of all.

(1) Hom. 2. ad pop. Antioch.

(2) Theophylact. in Marc. cap. xiv.

(3) Justinus, Apol. 2.

XXIX. The minor is denied : for he gave his flesh to be eaten, both in the eucharist and also otherwise ; as is before declared : In the eucharist, sacramentally to be eaten ; on the cross, and also in the word, spiritually.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

XXX. To the major he answereth : The true blood, and the same blood which issued out of his side, is in the cup ; but not after the same manner. From his side it streamed, really and substantially. In the cup it is sacramentally, that is, by way and condition of representation, so by him ordained. The question is not of being, for that is granted on both parties, but of the manner of being, which now in heaven is really ; in the receivers is spiritually ; in the eucharist sacramentally.

XXXI. The minor is thus to be understand : Bread and wine, as it is common bread and common wine, have no promise ; but, as they be sanctified into a sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they have promise of grace annexed ; but so annexed, that not they themselves have or give the grace, but they are only as instruments whereby grace cometh, not for their sake, but for that thing which they represent.

XXXII. This argument of Dr. Smith lacketh his right shape and form, having four terms, etc. Further, to the sequel, which he inferreth upon this argument : "But Christ bare himself in his *own* hands : ergo, he bare no figure of his body," etc. To this is answered by a distinction, really and sacramentally. Really, neither David nor Christ did bear himself in his own hands ; sacramentally, David could not bear himself, but Christ so did at the supper ; and *that* Augustine meaneth, adding this word, "quodam modo," after a certain manner ; expounding thereby his words before. And this Dr. Smith falsely and craftily leaveth out, in alleging the doctor's words.

Dr. Smith
falsifieth
the words
of Augus-
tine.

XXXIII. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ, he granteth, but only sacramentally ; that is, that thing which beareth a sacrament of the natural body of Christ : but good men eat the same, both sacramentally and spiritually.

XXXIV. To the major he answereth : We worship the same natural body of Christ, which the wise men did worship, but not after the same manner ; that is, not really here present to our bodies, as he was to theirs, but spiritually or sacramentally ; and, so we worship Christ spiritually in his word and Scriptures, and yet we say not that he is really present in the Scriptures.

Resolutions to the Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

XXXV. To the major of this argument, master Latimer answereth himself sufficiently before in the line 12, p. 506. As touching drinking of blood, it is forbidden in the Old Testament ; and commanded in the New, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing, etc.

XXXVI. First he denieth the major ; secondly he distincteth the word "church" in the minor ; for as there is the true church of Christ which he never suffereth to err, in the whole, from the apostles' time (although it may, in part, sometime), so there is the popish church, and that erreth and hath erred ; which first begat the error of transubstantiation in the time of pope Innocent III., about the year 1215.¹

Here followeth a copy of the letter of warrant, sent from the queen to Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford ; Richard Ivery, and William Tovy, bailiffs ; and the rest of the aldermen and inhabitants of the same city, concerning the custody and bringing forth of the said bishops to the disputations.

*See
Appendix.*

A Letter of Warrant, etc.

To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and other the inhabitants of the city of Oxford.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Hugh Latimer clerk, now

(1) In the fourth Lateran council convoked by Innocent III. in 1215, this imperious pontiff published no less than seventy laws or decrees, without deigning to consult any one ; by which the papal power was extended and new articles of faith enjoined.—Ed.

*Mary.*A.D.
1554.*See
Appendix.*

remaining in your custody, by our appointment, have, besides other their great crimes, maintained and openly set forth divers heresies and erroneous and most pernicious opinions, contrary to the catholic faith of Christ's church, to the great offence of Almighty God, and evil and dangerous example of all our faithful and loving subjects:—like as it hath been wisely considered in the convocation of the bishops, prelates, and other the clergy of this our realm, that the heresies, moved and nourished by the foresaid persons and other their adherents, being no less perilous for the state of our realm than hurtful to the setting-forth of God's glory and the furtherance of the catholic religion, are meet to be, by learning convinced and overthrown in time:—so have they, for that purpose, appointed certain grave and well-learned doctors and others, as well of that our university of Oxford as of our university of Cambridge, to hear in open disputations the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; so as their erroneous opinions, being by the word of God justly and truly convinced, the residue of our subjects may be thereby the better established in the true catholic faith: We therefore, minding to have the truth of Christ's catholic religion set forth and justly established among our loving subjects, to his glory and benefit of this our realm, do let you wit, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as, the said learned persons appointed for that purpose shall require you to cause the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, every or any of them, to be brought to the place of open disputation, you shall not only give order for the safe conveying thither of them, or any one or two of them, at the hours to them to be appointed, but also to receive them again into your custody, to be kept altogether or severally as the commissioners shall appoint from time to time, until further order shall be taken in this behalf accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 11th of April, and in the first year of our reign.*¹

The Report and Narration of Master Ridley, concerning the mis-ordered Disputation had against him and his Fellow-Prisoners at Oxford.²

No verity
but glory
sought for
in this
disputa-
tion.

I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard anything done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamour—which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned—might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea rather God's cause and his church's—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputations, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many; speaking many times altogether so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts (with hissing and clapping

(1) Here ends the long passage preserved from the edition of 1563: see *supra*, p. 520, note (2.)

(2) See the Harleian MSS. Number 422, art. 53, 60, 68, and the Appendix.—Ed.

of hands), and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.Taunts
and re-
villings
used in
this dis-
putation.

At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words (and that after the manner and law of schools); afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, "He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!" And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, "Let him read it! let him read it!"): yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying, "Blasphemies! blasphemies!" as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!" And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa; where, it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations: all were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

Ridley
could not
be suffer-
ed to read
forth his
protesta-
tion.

The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery; and I am assured he will say, I spake the least. But, to complain of these things further, I will cease.

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words:

"And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters; who fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses, and favour of the whole university."

After the disputation of master Latimer ended, which was the 18th of April; the Friday following, which was the 20th of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the archbishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and master Latimer were asked what they would do: they

The three
prisoners
at Oxford
called be-
fore the
commis-
sioners.

Mary. replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God; for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

A. D.
1554.
Cranmer,
Ridley,
and Latimer
condemned.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: the archbishop first beginning thus:

The Archbishop of Canterbury :—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley :—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer :—"I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weston to Latimer :—"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."¹

The arch-
bishop
and his
fellow-
prisoners
separat-
ed.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; videlicet, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, master Latimer to the bailiffs.

On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo;² Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house; Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax,³ and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him. Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in manner as followeth.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.⁴

Maister prolocutor, ye remember, I am sure, how ye promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how mine answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (me fateor neminem recusante) to write what should be said, and to have had license to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also, at the delivery of mine answers unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises be not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promises is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here mine answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master prolocutor, in the time of mine answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities or reasons, you said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying

Papists
have
small
consci-
ence in
perform-
ing pro-
mises.

See
Appendix.

(1) Weston, here, giveth sentence against himself.

(3) The market-place, "Quadrivium" in Latin.—Ed.

(4) This letter and the next are given according to the Edition of 1563, p. 977, except that they are there exhibited as one letter.—Ed.

(2) A prison so called.—Ed.

was then there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could say, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions: Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel at all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss, I commit to Almighty God my heavenly Father, who, by his dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh, shall truly and righteously judge both you and me.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the 23d of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university unto the queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the council. The which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, etc. Likewise bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London, the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley, then of the archbishop; and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

Another Letter of Bishop Ridley to the Prolocutor.

Maister prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and show all my three answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially unto my lord chancellor, my lords of Duresme, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, and Chichester; and also to show and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write now unto you. And that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I did send you this writing, and of those which were then with them present; viz. the two bailiffs of Oxford and of maister Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness. By me Nicholas Ridley, the 23rd of April, anno 1554.¹

The Copy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it.

In right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable lordships Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, master Ridley, and master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence: secondly, of transubstantiation: and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against master Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which

The arch-
bishop
not suffer-
ed to
answer
fully to
any argu-
ment.

(1) This letter is followed, in the Edition of 1563, by an address of Ridley to the reader, for which see the Appendix.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.Haste
made in
condemning
the arch-
bishop
and his
fellows.

can scantily be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard—for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good lordships in all godliness and felicity.

April 23, 1554.

Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer.

Disputa-
tion in
Cam-
bridge in-
tended.

I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that serjeant Morgan,¹ the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, that master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and master Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and into perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!—Turn, or burn.

OTHER THINGS WHICH HAPPENED IN THIS REALM, IN THIS
TUMULTUOUS TIME.A. D.
1553
to
1554.See
Appendix.

These disputations being thus discoursed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of April, as is aforesaid: now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of queen Mary. And because things that happened in that time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all—to the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time (albeit not much), returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553. In the which month of July, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose,

(1) This justice Morgan gave sentence against lady Jane.

on St. James's day (being the 25th of July), and so to the Tower, where he remained. *Mary.*

These be the names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke. First, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Ambrose Dudley and lord Henry Dudley, lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge. A. D.
1553
to
1554.

The 26th of July, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, lord Robert Dudley, and sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower. The names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke of Northumberland.

The 27th of July, the lord chief justice of England, and the lord Mountacute,¹ chief justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On the Friday, being the 28th of July, the duke of Suffolk, and sir John Cheke were committed to the Tower.

The 30th of July, the lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

The 31st of July, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

On the same day, being Monday, the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again. Duke of Suffolk.

On Thursday the 3d of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Friday the 4th of August, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

On Saturday the 5th of August, the lord Ferrers was committed to the Tower, and the same day Dr. Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night, Dr. Coxe was committed to the Marshalsea, and one master Edward Underhill to Newgate.² Also the same day Dr. Tonstal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor. Bonner set at liberty.

On Sunday the 6th of August, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines,³ who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the dispatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the 7th of August, "Dirige" in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; whereat was present the queen, and most part of the council.

On Tuesday the 8th of August,⁴ the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower, by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done; at which mass the queen was present. King Edward's body buried.

See Appendix

(1) Sir Edward Montague, is meant. He had been speaker of the House of Commons in the reign of Henry VIII.

(2) Of the sufferings of this man, a narration is given by Strype, from an account which Underhill himself drew up and sent to Foxe. See Mem. under Mary, cap. 6.—Ed.

(3) A small town four miles from Calais.—Ed.

(4) Stow says the 9th of August.—Ed.

Mary. On Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

A. D. On Sunday the 18th of August, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul's Cross : of the which sermon read before.¹

1553 In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

to On the Wednesday, being the 16th of August, master Bradford with others committed to the Tower. On the Wednesday, being the 16th of August, master Bradford, master Beacon, and master Veron, were committed to the Tower : with whom also master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at master Elsing's house in Fleetstreet, where master Bradford was taken ; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate, with the messenger.

On the Friday, being the 18th of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned ; the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On Saturday the 19th of August, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day ; the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

On that day a letter was sent unto sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as should condemn the queen's order of religion, or should keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

Dr. Watson preached at Paul's Cross. On Sunday the 20th of August, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberts, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the 21st of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On the which day also queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, etc. : inhibiting in the said proclamation printing, and preaching. The tenor whereof read before.²

Execution at the Tower-hill. On the Tuesday, being the 22d of August, the duke of Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower-hill, as before is said.³ The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass, received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday, the 27th of August, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross ; and the same day the bishop of Canterbury, sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within Paul's.

(1) Page 391.

(2) Page 390.

(3) Page 389.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with queen Mary, should promise to say "Dirige mass" after the old custom for king Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, etc. Wherefore, to stop the noise and slanders of those rumours, on the 7th of September, 1553, he set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

Mary.
A. D.
1553
to
1554.

A Purgation of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, against certain Slanders and Rumours falsely raised upon him.¹

As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion, with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after, our late sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church; the devil goeth about now, by lying, to overthrow the Lord's supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince king Edward the Sixth, and that I offered to say mass before the queen's highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly: yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore, these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I, that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk,² which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel: "Reddat illi Dominus in die illo." And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's highness, or in any other place, I never did it; as her grace well knoweth. But if her grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince king Edward the Sixth, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed; and which his apostles and the primitive church used many years:—whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that master Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said master Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these one thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And whereas they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in

(1) See the Harleian MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 422, artic. 8, in Grindall's handwriting.—Ed.

(2) This monk was Dr. Thornton, a cruel murderer of God's people, of whose horrible end ye shall read hereafter, partly also in the Life of Cranmer. [See the Appendix.—Ed.]

*Marg.**A. D.*

1553

to

1554.

the church fifteen hundred years past: and we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past—and so shall they be never able to prove theirs.

The same Thursday, being the 7th of September, 1553, lord Mountacute chief justice, and the lord chief baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

*See
Appendix.*

The 13th of September,¹ the reverend father, master Hugh Lati-mer was committed to the Tower.

The 14th of September,² the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The 26th of September, one master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peter-house to help him say mass in Pembroke-hall; which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, the 28th of September. And, upon the Saturday following, she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where were made many pageants³ to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.

Upon the Sunday, being the 1st of October, 1553, the queen's highness went from Whitehall to Westminster-abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the lord Dacres of the north, lord Ferrers, lord Cobham, lord Abergavenny, lord Wentworth, lord Scrope, lord Riche, lord Vaux, lord Howard, lord Connyers, lord Morley, lord Paget, and the lord Willoughby, with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the abbey, to receive her coming, came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or near upon, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and divers of her chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, mitred all, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Westminster-hall before the queen to the abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

*Queen
Mary
crowned.**Dr. Day's
sermon.**General
pardon at
the coro-
nation.
Excep-
tions.*

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the abbey at the same time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof master Whitchurch and master Grafton were two.

The 3d of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one master Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same,

(1) Stow says the 14th of September.—Ed.

(2) Sept. 15, according to Stow.—Ed.

(3) Amongst these pageants, stood a certain man upon the top of the eagle upon Paul's steeple, with a flag in his hand.

and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was
 clear discharged from further ministering in his cure. *Mary.*
A. D.
1553
to
1554.

On the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was com-
 mitted to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the 5th of October, the queen rode to the par-
 liament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were
 set in the parliament-house, the bishop of Winchester made to them
 a solemn oration, and serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the
 parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and
 Chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation. Queen
Mary
rideth to
the par-
liament-
house.

Also, the 10th of October, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered
 out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the 15th of October, master Laurence
 Saunders preached at Allhallows in Bread-street in the morning;
 where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other
 matters, very notably and godly: whereof more shall be heard (by
 the Lord's leave) hereafter, when we come to his story. In which
 his doing, as he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he
 sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, "Om-
 nis qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego illum
 coram Patre meo qui est in cœlis." But about noon of the same
 day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence com-
 mitted to the Marshalsea. *See
Appendix.*
Saunders,
for
preaching
against
the mass,
committed
to the
Marshal-
sea.
Matt. x.

On the Sunday following, being the 22nd of October, Dr. Weston
 preached at Paul's Cross; who, in the beginning of his sermon, willed
 the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: "You shall
 pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor
 hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven,
 that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the
 Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin,
 lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters-out of
 the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue
 set out by the said Julian the apostate, wherein Christ and Pilate
 were the speakers; with many other things. Which sermon, with
 all the points thereof, master Coverdale the same time learnedly con-
 futed by writing; which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen. Weston's
popish
sermon.

Weston's
sermon
confuted
by Cover-
dale.

In the week following began the disputations in the Convoca-
 tion-house in Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before
 declared.

The 26th of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to
 Clare-hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker displaced Dr. Madew,
 and placed master Swynbourne in the mastership there, by force of the
 lord chancellor's letters; for that he was (as they termed it) "uxora-
 tus," that is, married.

The 28th of October, the papists in the King's college in Cam-
 bridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal),
 had their whole service again in the Latin tongue; contrary to the
 law then in force. Running
before the
law.

The last day of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did
 sharply reprove and threaten one master Thrackold, for that he chal-
 lenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered master Bovell (con-
 trary to the statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to

Mary. depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

A.D. The 8d of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of
1553 the Round Parish in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister
to any more in the English tongue; saying, he would have one uniform
1554. order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass :
which was established the twelfth day of this month.

The
queen's
proceed-
ings
maintain-
ed in Cam-
bridge.

*See
appendix.*

The 6th of November, master Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

The 28th of November, the archdeacon's official visited in Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see, how these good fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side; that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

King
Edward's
acts re-
pealed.

The 15th of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by king Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, for the 20th of December then next following: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the 5th of October, continued till the 5th of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of *præmunire*, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, etc., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under king Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which parliament moreover was appointed, the 20th of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, that all the old form and manner of church-service, used in the last year of king Henry, should now again be restored.

On new-year's even, being the last day of December, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

A priest
of Canter-
bury re-
peating
his saying
mass.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did: and there made a long sermon against the mass.

A.D. 1554.

The day after new-year's day, being the 2d of January, A.D. 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were these: the counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry.

New
bishops
made.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, etc., were chosen; more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these:

Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Cotes, bishop of Chester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Bourn, bishop of Bath; White, bishop of Lincoln; Mores,¹ bishop of Rochester; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and, after his decease, bishop of

(1) "Mores." Maurice Griffin was consecrated to this see in April 1554. "Poole," bishop of Asaph, also appears to be an error. Parfew and Goldwell are the only names that occur about the period specified. A David Poole was made bishop of Peterborough in 1557. See Godwin.—Ed.

Exeter; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; master Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Rainolds, dean of Bristol, with others. Mary.
A. D.
1554.
See Appendix.

The 12th of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18th of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On the Saturday, being the 13th of January, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one master Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the court openly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, being Monday, and the 15th of January, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court; and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him. Crome committed to the Fleet.



Marriage of the queen.

On the Saturday following, being the 20th of January, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On the Thursday at night following, the 25th of January, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On the Saturday following, being the 27th of January, justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and the same day master Rogers was committed to Newgate. On this Saturday, and the Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's commandment), to go into Kent against the commons: whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, sir Henry Jerningham, sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. Which soldiers when they came to Rochester-bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of ordnance, and treasure. Justice Hales committed; also master Rogers.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and took his voyage into Leicestershire. After whom was sent the earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor, by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the fifteenth day of the said month, being Thursday, there were seen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights. There were seen two suns both shining at once, the one a pretty good way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus , but this stood thus , with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, and on the south Strange sights seen before the coming in of king Philip, and subversion of religion.

Mary. side of Paul's, as in very many other places; and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of the Guildhall, to behold the sight.

A.D.
1554.

*See
Appendix.*

The lady
Elizabeth
sent for;
the bishop
of Win-
chester
preach-
eth.

As touching the rising of master Wyat, with sir William Cobham and others, in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyat and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk with his brother lord John Gray; and, the second day after, of the beheading of the lord Guilford and lady Jane, which was the 12th of February; and how the Saturday before, which was the 10th of the said month, lord William Howard, and sir Edward Hastings were sent for the lady Elizabeth; and how on the Sunday, sir Henry Iseley, master Culpepper, and master Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day (being the 11th of February) preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution—all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat, notwithstanding, to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

The duke
of Suf-
folk.

On Saturday, the 17th of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers: the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

On the Sunday following, the 18th of February, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept on the Sunday.

On Monday, the 19th of February, the lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four were condemned.

The lord
John
Gray.

On Tuesday, the 20th of February, the lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day; and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

On Wednesday, the 21st of February, the lord Thomas Gray and sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

Sir Ni-
cholas
Throg-
morton.

On Thursday, the 22d of February, sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

On Friday, the 23d of February, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower-hill, the order of whose death here followeth.

The godly End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk beheaded at Tower-hill.

Weston
the
duke's
ghostly
father
against
the duke's
will.

On Friday the 23d of February, 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffold on the Tower-hill, with a great company, etc.; and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston, as his ghostly father: notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke—for when the duke went up

to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand, put him down again off the stairs; and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said :

"Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient. And I pray God that this my death may be an ensample to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and steadfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul."

And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then master Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, with meetly good and audible voice: "Such forgiveness God send thee" (meaning Dr. Weston). Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the psalm, "Miserere mei Deus," unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," etc. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner.

Then the said executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly; and God have mercy to thee." Then stood there a man, and said, "My lord, how shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas, good fellow! I pray thee trouble me not now; but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," etc., unto the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me;" and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and, at the first chop, struck off his head, and held it up to the people, etc.

The same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. There were in number about two hundred.¹

On Saturday, the 24th of February, sir William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the master of the horse, to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

On Sunday, the 25th of February, sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them.—This the bishop did of his own power.

(1) The number of those were two hundred and forty, which with halters about their necks passed through the city to Westminster, and had their pardon.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Gentlemen executed.

On the Tuesday in the same week, being the 27th of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there: their names were these, the two Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. With these master Rudston also, and certain others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As touching the aforesaid master Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it): and then, they said, he should have the queen's pardon. But master Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their serpentine counsel, and chose rather to die, than to have life for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said master Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession: to clear himself thereof, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology in purgation of himself, the copy whereof you shall hear.

The Apology of Master Mantel the elder.

Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me, concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a christian man, as near as I can (with the truth), to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's majesty to send unto me master doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of Nicene, "Quicunque vult," and "Te Deum laudamus."

Bourn sent to Mantel.

Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show unto any learned minister of Christ's church, any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

Mantel opposed in the sacrament.

Touching the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it), I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, "Hoc est corpus meum."

Further, when this would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter—alleging this text,¹ "He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all." Yea, quoth I,² "It is true of these commandments of God." To this I desired him to consider, it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do. And therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word "church" we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian, popish church.

The church.

Bourn and Mantel disagree in the mass.

Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it nought; and he, *et contra*, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain

(1) "Qui offenderit in minimo, factus est reus omnium." Matt. v.

(2) "Verum ex hisce mandatis." James ii.

other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin (for the death of Christ only was that sacrifice), and this but a commemoration of the same. "Then, if ye think so (certain blasphemous collects left out), I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass." "See," quoth he, "how vain glory toucheth you." "Not so, sir," quoth I, "I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. "Yea," saith he, "one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, etc., is a communion." "This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul," said I,¹ "Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse." "Yea, and it is a communion too," said he, "when they come together. Now draweth on the time," quoth he, "that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her, in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced." Then I said, "I pray you report the best: for I trust you find me not obstinate." "What shall I say? are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament in the mass?" "I beseech you," said I, "signify unto her majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort."—Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

Bourn
maketh
the mass
a com-
munion.Mantel
neither
obstinate
nor
stubborn.

The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon "De Mortalitate." He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, "*Panis iste non effigie sed natura mutatus*," etc. I asked of him how "*natura*" was taken in the Convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded, nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine do write and believed. And this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect: what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, etc. The truth is, I never heard mass, nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

Mantel
constant
in his
religion.

One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, "I am content." We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without "Benedicite," desiring him not to look, at my hand, for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council; *et ego liberatus*. Thus much I bare only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long, and too foolish, so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine—I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome (that Antichrist), and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful

(1) "Non in mellus, sed in deterius conventis." 1 Cor. x.

Mary. hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same! God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen! Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

A.D.
1554.

Written the 2d of March, anno 1554, by me Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offences. Amen.

And thus much concerning the purgation of master Walter Mantel, who, if he had consented unto the queen, what time she sent Dr. Bourn unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

Carew
and Gibbs
in the
Tower.

On Saturday, the 3d of March, Sir Gawen Carew, and master Gibbs were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In London, the 7th of March¹ every householder was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

Lady
Elizabeth
brought
to the
Tower.

On the Sunday following,² being the 18th of March, the lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On Easter even, being the 24th of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

The pix
risen out
of the
sepulchre
from
all the
watch-
men at St.
Pancras
church.

The 25th day (being Easter-day), in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, "surrexit; non est hic,"—he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembered one Marsh, who, a little before, had been put from that parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he answered, "that he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife:"—which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to several compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

Marsh
burdened
with sus-
picion,
and with
his mar-
riage.

A cat
hanged
with a
shaven
crown,
upon the
gallows
in Cheap-
side.

The 8th of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheap, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil-will against the city of London; for the queen and the bishops were very angry withal. And therefore the same afternoon there was a proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

See
Addenda.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheap-side, here is to be understood, that after the sermon of the bishop of

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

Winchester (above mentioned), made before the queen for the strait execution of Wyatt's soldiers; immediately upon the same, the 13th of February, were set up a great number of gallowses in divers places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet-street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's-park-corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowses, to the number of twenty, there remained for terror of others, from the 13th of February till the 4th of June; and then, at the coming in of king Philip, were taken down.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

The number and occasion of the gallowses set up in the city of London.

The 11th of April was sir Thomas Wyatt beheaded and quartered at the Tower-hill, where he uttered these words touching the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my lady Elizabeth's grace, nor my lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew anything of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true!"

Wyatt's words touching lady Elizabeth. See Appendix.

On Tuesday, the 17th of April, sir James Croft and master Winter were brought to the Guildhall, with whom also, the same time, and to the same place, was brought sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen: where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him), that the quest which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him "not guilty:" for the which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being also substantial men of the city, were bound in the sum of five hundred pounds apiece to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed; there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquittal. This quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber on Wednesday, being the 25th of April, and St. Mark's day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison: Emanuel Lucar and Thomas Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

Croft, Winter, and Throgmorton.

The quest troubled for sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of doctor Ridley, and master Latimer, which was the 20th of this month of April, and also of their disputations, because we have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them (the 27th of April), lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower-hill.

Lord Thomas Gray beheaded.

On Saturday, the 28th of April,¹ sir James Croft and master Winter were again brought to the Guildhall, where sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, master Winter was not arraigned.

(1) So the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary (p. 66): Stow and Machyn say, April 29th.—Ed.

*Mary.*A.D.
1554.William
Thomas con-
demned.*See
Appendix.*

On Thursday, the 17th of May,¹ William Thomas was arraigned at the Guildhall, and there the same day condemned, who, the next day after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death : which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison before his death.

A disputa-
tion in-
tended to
be had at
Cam-
bridge.

The
preachers
in prison
refuse not
to dispute
before in-
different
judges.

In the month of May it was given out, and bruited abroad, that a solemn disputation should be holden at Cambridge (as ye heard before in master Ridley's letter, p. 536), between master Bradford, master Saunders, master Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both the universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before ; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford : nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent they directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the 8th of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, where all things were so predetermined before ; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, so that the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament-houses, or else if they might dispute by writing : for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof, they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. And so consequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf ; and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A Copy of a certain Declaration drawn and sent abroad out of Prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation, and Doctrine of their Religion, as followeth :

Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's highness, or of any of the council's (God's name be praised therefore), but alone for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge :—because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf : in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses ; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able

Talk of a
pretended
disputa-
tion to be
had at
Cam-
bridge.

(1) Stow says he was condemned on the 9th of May ; Machyn places it on the 18th.—Ed.

to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; through which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now, while we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is abovesaid, to prevent the offences which might come thereby:—

First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, king Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us (as charity requireth), then would they have called us forth hereabouts tofore their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed; so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies; because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, etc. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth; as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have, by their good will: for the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of Antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

why they
will not
dispute
before in-
different
judges.

Neither
charity
nor verity
sought
for.

The
judges
professed
enemies
against
the truth.

Books ne-
cessary
for dispu-
tation.

Example
of the dis-
putation
at Ox-
ford.

Notaries
not indif-
ferent.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

Excep-
tions
taken
against
the adver-
saries.
Condi-
tions as-
signed
how they
would
dispute.
Exhorta-
tion to
obedi-
ence.

The con-
fession
of the
preach-
ers.

The
catholic
church.

The
creeds.

Justifica-
tion by
faith only
in Christ.
What
faith is.

The doc-
trine of
free justifi-
cation
defended,
not for
curiosity,
but for
quiet of
consci-
ence.
Service
in the
vulgar
tongue.
Invoca-
tion to
God
alone.

Purga-
tory and
masses
suffra-
gatory
denied.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify, unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen, unless it be before the queen's highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as is abovesaid. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And, to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or stake; or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our sovereign lady queen Mary: into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen!

First, We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those who will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, "If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen."

Thirdly, We believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A.D. 324;¹ of Constantinople, A.D. 384;² of Ephesus, kept A.D. 432;³ of Chalcedon, kept A.D. 454;⁴ of Toledo, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and of Damasus (who was about the year of our Lord 376) we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, where through as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to God-ward.

Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God: and therefore, in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

Seventhly, We confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof

(1) A.D. 325.—Ed. (2) A.D. 383.—Ed. (3) A.D. 431.—Ed. (4) A.D. 451.—Ed.

we affirm purgatory, masses of "Scala coeli," trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of Antichrist.

Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for which they were instituted.

And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God. [Item,] the reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

All these we believe and confess to be Antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word, before the queen's highness and her council, or before the parliament-houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess; unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's highness and her council, or the parliament-houses shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do, appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing; that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth and grace of perseverance therein unto the end! Amen.

The 8th day of May, A.D. 1554.

Robert St. David's; alias
Robert Ferrar.
Rowland Taylor.
John Philpot.
John Bradford.
John, Wigorn. et

Glouc. Episcopus; alias
John Hooper.
Edward Crome.
John Rogers.
Laurence Saunders.
Edmund Laurence.
J. P., and T. M.

To these things abovesaid do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners (with mine own hand).

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers; which was on the 8th of May.

Furthermore, the 19th of the said month, the lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought out of the Tower, and committed to the custody of sir John Williams, after lord Williams of Thame; of whom her highness was gently and courteously entreated; who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of sir Henry Benifield knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

Against transubstantiation, and adoration of the sacrament.

Inhibition of priests' marriage antichristian.

Exhortation against rebellion.

The bigger part against the better.

See Appendix

Lady Elizabeth.
Sir John Williams.

Sir Henry Benifield.

Mary. other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty (as it is reported), showed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause was given of her part, or reason of his own part would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. *But¹ herein have we to see and note, not so much the uncivil nature and disposition of that man, as the singular lenity and gracious mansuetude of that princess, who, after coming to her crown, showed herself so far from revenge of injuries taken, that whereas other monarchs have oftentimes requited less offences with loss of life, she hath scarce impaired any piece of his liberty or estimation, save only that he was restrained from coming to the court. And whereas some, peradventure, of her estate would here have used the bloody sword, her majesty was contented with scarce a nipping word; only bidding him to repair home, and saying, "If we have any prisoner, whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, then we will send for you."

A rare example of a princely clemency.

This virtuous and noble lady, in what fear she was the mean time, and in what peril greater than her fear, the Lord only best doth know: and, next, it is not unknown to herself, to whose secret intelligence I leave this matter further to be considered. This I may say, which every man may see; that it was not without a singular miracle of God that she could or did escape, in such a multitude of enemies, and grudge of minds so greatly exasperated against her; especially of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose head and devices were chiefly bent, as a bow, against that only person, to make her away: and no doubt would have brought it by some means to pass, had not the Lord prevented him with death; to preserve her life, to the preservation of this realm. Wherefore that is false which Dr. Story said in the parliament-house, lamenting, as I heard say, "that when they went so much about the branches, they had not shot at the root herself." For why? They neither lacked their darts, nor no good will, to shoot at the root, all they possibly might; but, what God's providence will have kept, it shall be kept, when all Dr. Stories have shot out all their artillery in vain. But of this matter it is sufficient at this present, *whereof we have to entreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter, in the story and life of queen Elizabeth.

King Philip arriveth at Southampton.

On the Friday following, being the 20th of July,² and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who, immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

The keys of Southampton delivered to him.

Then met him, a little without the town, the mayor of Southampton with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and so received the keys of the mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness; and after a while delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town-gate met him the earl of Arundel and the lord Williams, and so he was brought to his lodging.

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the 25th

(1) See Ed. 1563, p. 1004.—Ed.

(2) Stow says July 19. See Appendix.—Ed.

of July, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, etc.

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Marriage
between
Philip
and
Mary.

Whereupon, the first day of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following should be used.

Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol.

Of this marriage as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so divers of them, after divers studies, to show forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants: some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt; some made verses. Amongst all other, master White, then bishop of Lincoln (his poetical vein being *dronken* with joy of the marriage) spewed out certain verses: the copy whereof we have here inserted.

Philippi et Mariæ Genealogia, qua ambo Principes ex Johanne de Gandavo, Edwardi Tertii, Angliæ, Franciæque Regis, filio, descendisse ostenduntur; Whito Lincolnensi Authore.

Ille parens regum Gandava ex urbe Johannes
Somersetensem comitem profert Johannem :
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Johannes,
Qui Margaretam Richmundi habuit comitissam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni Septimus hujus
Henrico Octavo solium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio et fausto quasi sidere nata,
Jure tenes sacram teneasque, Maria, coronam.

Verses of Master John White, Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the Marriage of Philip and Mary.

Nubat ut Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hostis ;
Sed Deus, Anglorum provida spes, voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prælia Gallus :
Cæsar, et Italia, et Flandria tota volet.
Noluit hæreticus, stirps Caiphæ, pontificum grex ;
Pontificum sed grex catholicus voluit.
Octo uxorati patres in dæmone nollent :
Quinque catenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Johannes Dudley Northumbrius ursus ;
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis nostræ Catilina Viatus ;
Sed procures et plebs et pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, et Cantia turba rebellans :
Nos, quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
Cum ait Philippo juncta Maria viro.

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Answer by the Bishop of Norwich¹ to the Bishop of Lincoln.

Externo nubat Maria ut regina Philippo,
 Ut sint pulsa suis sceptrā Britannia locis,
 Vult dæmon generis nostri antiquissimus hostis;
 Anglorum non vult anchora sola Deus.
 Nolunt hoc Galli, nolunt Scoti armipotentes;
 Vult Cæsar, Flandrus, vult Italus Golias.
 Vult grex pontificum, stirps Caiphæ, turba bicornis;
 Non vult sanctorum sed pia turba patrum.
 Nolunt octo, quibus sunt vincla jugalia curæ;
 Quinque catenati dæmonis arte volunt.
 Hoc neque tu prorsus, Dudlæe animosæ, volebas:
 Invitum regni consilium voluit.
 Dedecus hoc non vult fortissimus ille Viatus:
 Invitus populus sic, proceresque, volent.
 Vos vultis, quoniam semper mala cuncta voletis:
 Non vult Graius dux, nec pia turba volet.
 Quot tulit Hispanus rex ergo commoda secum,
 Reginæ socias cum dedit ille manus?

Another Answer by the said Author.

Hispano nubat Maria ut regina Philippo,
 Extirpetur stirps ut quoque nobilium,
 Vult pater id vester disturbans omnia dæmon:
 Non vult Anglorum sed pater altitonans.
 Non vult bellipotens Gallus, non vult Scotus acer:
 Vult Cæsar, Flandrus, Papicolæque volunt.
 Grex mitratorum vult, Caiphæ ipsa propago:
 Non vultis sanctorum sed pius ordo patrum
 Nolunt octo, pios qui jure colunt hymenæos:
 Quinque catenati pro impietate volunt.
 Dudlæus minimè voluit, Northumbrius, heros:
 Cui sua perchara est patria, nemo volet.
 Libertatis amans non vult bonus ille Viatus,
 Non proceres, non plebs, nec pia turba volet.
 Vos vultis, pietas qui vultis ut exulet omnis:
 Non Graius, sed nec Cantia turba volet.
 Ergo magis clarus qui sit (rogo) sanguis avitus,
 Quando jugali sit junctus uterque thoro?

*See
Appendix.*

Other Verses answering to Bishop White, made by J. C.

Quamlibet Anglorum stirps ementita Philippo,
 Et Maria Hispanâ de genetrice fuit.
 Ut tamen Hispano confusi sanguinis Angla
 Nuberet in gentis dedecus atque patris,
 Noluit Anglorum prius virtutis amator:
 Sed Deus in nostram perniciem voluit.
 Noluit in nostram nisi conspirata salutem
 Turba: quid ad nos si gens inimica volet?
 Pontifices fati quasi Caiphæ, omina dantes
 Nolebant: at grex cacolucus voluit.
 Elegere pii connubia talia nolle:
 Velle quidem demens hæresis illa fuit.
 Consilium multo præstantius octo mariti
 Quinque cathenatis ob malefacta dabant.
 Noluit hos jungi thalamos Northumbrius heros.
 O consultores, qui voluere, malos!

*See
Addenda.*

(1) Dr. John Parkhurst, afterward made bishop of Norwich, A.D. 1560.—Ed.

Noluit haud æquo configens Marte Viatus :
 Solaque quæ voluit, turba papalis erat.
 Nolebat Graius, neque terra Britanna volebat :
 Nos, quoniam Dominus sic voluit, tulimus.
 Sed tulimus pariter fata infelicia : quando
 Infelix Maria est nupta, Philippe, tibi.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Other Verses answering likewise.

*See
Appendix.*

Nubat ut Hispano regina Maria Philippo
 Dic age, White, mihi, quos voluisse vides ?
 Noluit aut voluit quid inanis turba, refert nil.
 Velle et nolle Dei est : quid volet ille, refert.
 Hoc quoniam voluit (inquis) Dominus, voluistis :
 Quid voluit, quoniam nescis inepte, scias.
 Scilicet hoc voluit, vates ut vanus et augur,
 Et mendax Whitus pseudopropheta foret.
 Regi non regi nupsit, non nupsit ; Angla est,
 Non Angla est ; gravida est, non gravida est, gravis est.
 Parturit atque parit, sic vos voluistis ovantes,
 Nil tamen illa parit : hoc voluit Dominus.
 Duxerat ad paucos menses, mox deserit idem :
 Sponsa est, mox vidua est : hoc voluit Dominus.
 Irrita frustrentur semper sic vota malorum,
 Perniciem patriæ qui voluere suæ.
 Sit nomen Domini benedictum !

After the consummation of which marriage, they both removed from Winchester to sundry other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor-castle, where he was stalled in the order of the garter, upon the Sunday the 12th of August.¹ At which time a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water came to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed, both, into Southwark-park, and so to Southwark-house called Suffolk-place, where they lay that night, being the 17th of August.

King
Philip
cometh to
Windsor.
The arms
of Eng-
land
taken
down,
and those
of Spain
set up.
Philip
cometh to
London.

And the next day, being Saturday, and the 18th of August, the king and queen's majesties rode from Suffolk-place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to White-hall ; and at London-bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great spectacle set up, two images representing two giants, the one named Chorinæus, and the other, Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for the vain ostentation of flattery I overpass.

Vain pa-
geants of
London.

And as they passed over the bridge, there were a number of ordinance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report the like hath not been heard or seen these one hundred years.

From London-bridge they passed the conduit in Gracious-street, which was finely painted ; and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henry the Eighth was one. He was painted in harness, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written " Verbum Dei ;" delivering the same book

(1) Stow says, they went to Richmond on the 11th, and rode through Southwark and London on the 12th; thus antedating the pageant of the 18th of August.—Ed.

Mary. (as it were) to his son king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

A. D.
1554.

Winchester cannot abide the book called "Verbum Dei." The painter sent for to the bishop.

The painter's answer.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave, for painting a book in king Henry's hand, and specially for writing thereupon "Verbum Dei," but also rank traitor and villain; saying to him, that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand (who was also painted there), for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed.

The painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's majesty's will and commandment, that he should send for him: and so, commanding him to wipe out the book and "Verbum Dei" too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but, fearing lest he should leave some part either of the book, or of "Verbum Dei," in king Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal!

Five Philips.

Here I pass over and cut off other gaudes and pageants of pastime showed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin; wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world: Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus audax, Philippus bonus, Philip prince of Spain and king of England.

In another poetry king Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after king Philip's pipe—not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand: and therefore pass over also, the sight at Paul's church-side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome king Philip into Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best:—

The erecting the rood at Paul's.

In the second year of Mary, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

Bonner's god; the rood of Paul's set up with Te Deum.

After that, they took the said rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole choir sang "Te Deum;" and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Salutation to the rood of Paul's.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made low courtesy, and said: "Sir, your master-

ship is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green, &c."

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleetstreet, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after; and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton-court, where the hall-door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto.

About the 8th of September Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to inquire (according to their oaths), and to present before him the day after St. Matthew's day, being the 22d of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven; of the which visitation of Bonner I have somewhat more largely to entreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The 17th of September was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master; upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

On the Sunday following, being the 30th of September, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, lord North, sir Anthony Brown, master Rochester, master Walgrave, master Englefield, lord Fitzwater, and secretary Peter; and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely; which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in Matt. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ; and amongst them, one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, "Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, etc., and thy neighbour as thyself; in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets."

The bishop of Winchester preacheth.

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion, upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in king Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies; affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh; saying,

A blasphemous mouth against the true preachers of God's word.

Mary. that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers aforesaid would report nothing truly, and that they taught, that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure; with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament; and so concluded that matter.¹ And then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, "Peccavimus in fratrem:" "We have all sinned against our brother:"—"and so," said he, "have I too." Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to show that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince, as ever was in England; and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him; and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him. And so made an end.

Winchester
preach-
eth in
commenda-
tion of
king
Philip.

On the Tuesday following, being the 2d of October, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver,² and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth; for it is to us uncertain.

*See
Addenda.*

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner of Coleman-street, who, having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest, seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his pix fall down. The poor man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the priest accusing him unto the council as though he had come to slay him; whereas the poor man (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post; where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reporteth that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad; which thing we, in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

John
Street.

The
priest,
worse
feared
than hurt,
let the pix
fall.

John
Street in-
nocently
cast into
the dun-
geon.

Falsely
reported
of.

(1) The church never confessed the natural body of Christ so to be in the sacrament, that the substance of bread was taken away, before the time of Pope Innocent the Third, an. 1215.

(2) "Twenty cartloads of gold and silver in bullion, and two more of coined money." Walter's History of England, vol. III. p. 383.—Ed.

About the 5th of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and apprentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was master Brown a goldsmith, master Spark a draper, Randal Tirer a stationer, master Beston a merchant, with many others.

On the Sunday, the 14th of October, the old bishop of Durham preached in the Shronds.

On St. Luke's day following, being the 18th of October, the king's majesty came from Westminster to Paul's church along the streets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen; and there he was received under a canopy at the west door, and so came in to the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain sung: and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner again.

On Friday, the 26th of October, certain men, whereof I spake before, who were of master Throgmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended—like weaklings, not considering truth to be truth; but of force for fear said so): these eight men, I say, whereof master Emanuel Lucas, and master Whetstone were chief, were called before the council of the Star-chamber: where they all affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences; even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. Where master Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects; and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queen's majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty: and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty.—Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and others said, that master Lucar and master Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand marks apiece, and the rest five hundred pounds apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks apiece; and that they should go to prison again, and there remain, till further order were taken for their punishment.

On Tuesday, being the 30th of October, the lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and set at liberty.

On Sunday, the 4th of November, five priests' did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did disple them.

On Wednesday, the 7th of November, the lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors,

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

Men imprisoned for books.

Trouble of the good men who were of Throgmorton's quest.

Pole nominated archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) Stow says, three priests and two laymen. He adds, that during the sermon they were "displed [disciplined] on the heads, with the same rods."—Ed.

See Appendix.

Mary. I know not whither ; but, as it was adjudged, to cardinal Pole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels : and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, whereas at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

A. D.
1554.

On the Friday following, being the 9th of November, master Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

On the Saturday, the 10th of November, the sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods who were of master Throgmorton's quest, and to seal up their doors ; which was done the same day. Master Whetstone, master Lucas, and master Kytely, were judged to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and the rest a thousand marks apiece, to be paid within a fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four who confessed a fault, and submitted themselves ; whose names are these, master Loe, master Poynter, master Beswike, and master Carter.

Bonner
goeth in
his visita-
tion.

*See
Appendix.*

Mention was made a little before, of the visitation of Edmund Bonner bishop of London, which began (as is said) about the month of September : for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles to the number of thirty-seven. These articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that master Bale in a certain treatise¹ hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this book with them, I slip over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex ; who, passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with divers worshipful of the shire (for so they were commanded), arrived at Stortford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain

His beha-
viour at
Stortford.

days ; solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, at the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). He took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled ; insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this bishoplike fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham his own house and parish, not past two miles from Stortford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length

His beha-
viour at
Hadham.

drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no bells stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler ; and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit : and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus rode he on, chafing and fuming with himself. " What meaneth," saith he, " that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not ? and the parson that he meeteth me not ? " with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours ; whereupon he grew from choler to

Bonner in
a peevish
chafe.

(1) This book is entitled " A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's Articles concerning the Cleargye of London Diocese, whereby that execrable Antichriste is, in his righte colours, reueiled." London, 1554.—Ed.

plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, nor rood-loft decked after the popish precept (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up), curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with a hunting oath or two, and by no beggars, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said; calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying: He was sorry his lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him; and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his lordship to come to his poor house (where his dinner was prepared), he would satisfy him in those things which his lordship thought amiss.—Yet this so reasonable an answer nothing could satisfy or assuage his passion unreasonable: for the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight; saying, as his bye-word was, "Before God, thou art a knave: avaunt heretic!" and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave sir Thomas Jocelyn, knight (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop), a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck—even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear: whereat he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, "What meaneth your lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" The bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.Bricket,
parson of
Hadham,
called
knave, of
Bonner.
*See
Appendix.*Sir Tho-
mas Jo-
celyn
stricken
of Bon-
ner.Bonner
strieth
him that
standeth
next.

Then master Fecknam dean of Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "Oh master Jocelyn! you must bear with my lord; for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past; and then, assure yourself, master Jocelyn, my lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." Whereunto he merrily replied and said, "So it seems, master Fecknam; for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled; because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

Fecknam
excuseth
Bonner
by the
Marshal-
sea.Sir Tho-
mas Jo-
celyn's
apothegm
touching
Bonner.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house; and, leaving his dinner, rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not

Mary. looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so prevented his day aforestalled.

A.D.
1554.

Bonner
driven
from a
good din-
ner.

At this hasty posting-away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him. Also his doctors and chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chafingly: which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now, whether the bishop were offended at those solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed; joining to that, that his "great god" was not exalted above-ground over the altar, nor his "block almighty" set seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected), I have not perfectly to say: but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drove the bishop so hastily from such a dinner.¹

A STORY OF A ROOD SET UP IN LANCASHIRE.

Story of a
rood set
up in
Lanca-
shire.

The men
of Cock-
ram not
pleased
there-
with.

The rood
of Cock-
ram driv-
ing the
children
out of the
church.

In this visitation of bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept, which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story, likewise, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish-church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood: who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him, whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel; which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church, which he, according to his promise, had done; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true?" quoth the mayor to the wardens. "Yea sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" quoth he. "And it please you, master mayor," quoth they, "because the rood we had before, was a well-favoured man; and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on; gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him!" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse—"My masters," quoth he, "howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less; and it is pity that he should have any hinderance or loss thereby: therefore I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve

(1) Testified by such as there and then were present.—Rich. K. etc.

for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well in worth; the poor man had his money; and divers laughed well thereat—but so did not the Babylonish priests.

Mary.
A. D.
1554.

This mayor abovementioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of Marsh the martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster-castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned.

The
mayor of
Lancaster
a good
man.

About this time, or the month next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Bonner bishop of London, to all parsons and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon church-walls before, in king Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express in their own style and words,¹ that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of christian people: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought, by all manner of means, to keep the people still in ignorance.

A Mandate of Bonner Bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and Writings painted upon the Church-Walls.

Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies (as they thought), certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church-walls; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar. and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting-days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue:² Wherefore we, being moved with a christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted), that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be razed, abolished, and extinguished forthwith: citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners (whom we, also, for the same do cite here, by the tenor hereof), that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners,

The
Scriptures
painted
on
church-
walls
razed out.

Scriptures
open a
window
to vices
with Bon-
ner.

(1) It is extant in Latin in the First Edition, p. 1005, and will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.
(2) Note well these causes, reader, why the Scriptures should be razed out!

*Mory.*A.D.
1554.

being slack and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special, in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court-day, or else at the next court-day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished, for their such negligence, slackness, and fault; to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things; or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

Dated in the Bishop's Palace at London, the 25th day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the 16th.

Christopherson
sent to Cam-
bridge
with Gar-
diner's In-
structions.

About this time the lord chancellor sent master Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronounciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

Twenty-
four
places
void at
one time
in one
college.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-twenty others, who, neither in virtue nor in religion, seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the state of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, that, for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

Popish
exhorta-
tion of
Tresham.

His great
reasons.

And forsomuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford¹, we may not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, who, supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ-church, after he had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art persuasory, began to commend the dignity of the mass unto them; declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons—declaring that there were a company of goodly copes, that were appointed to Windsor; but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady-bell of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for a holy-water-sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm Wherefore

(1) See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.

he thought that no man would be so mad, to forego these commodities, etc.

These things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall; whom, I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race of our story where we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more, that on the 12th day of the same month of November, being Monday,¹ began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmorland bare the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Wednesday, the 21st of November;² on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in king Henry the Eighth's time, and on the next day, being Thursday, and the 22d of November, the king and the queen came both to the parliament-house, to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming.

Cardinal
Pole ar-
riveth in
England.
*See
Appendix.*

On Saturday, being the 24th of November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth-house, which was ready prepared against his coming.

On the Wednesday following, being the 28th of November, there was general procession in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

*See
Appendix.*

The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth—ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

A Copy of a Letter sent from the Council, unto Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, concerning Queen Mary conceived with Child. *Printed by John Cawod.*

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's majesty in such sort as she is conceived and quick of child:⁴ whereby (her majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by God's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve

(1) Here note, that the printer of queen Mary's statutes, doth err in his supputation, which saith, that this parliament began the 11th of this month; which day was then Sunday. *Ex Statut. an. 1 & 2 R. Philipp. et Mariae, cap. 8.*

(2) Stow says, Nov. 24.—*Ed.*

(3) Edition of 1563.—*Ed.*

(4) If queen Mary were quick with child in the 28th of the month of November, and afterward did labour in the month of June, then went she almost seven months quick with child.

Mary. him, as we be most bounden : these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his holy hand over her majesty, the king's highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your lordship most heartily well to fare.

A. D.
1554.

Te Deum
sung for
queen
Mary's
child.

From Westminster the 27th of November, 1554.

Your assured loving friends,	
Stephen Winton. Cancel.	John Bathon.
Arundel.	R. Riche.
F. Shrewsbury.	Thomas Wharton.
Edward Darby.	John Huddilstone.
Henry Sussex.	R. Southwell.

Also the same day in the afternoon, cardinal Pole came to the parliament-house, which, at that present, was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad; where the king and queen's majesties, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner :

The Words of Winchester for receiving of the Cardinal.

See
Appendix.

My lords of the upper house, and you my masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage, their majesties' pleasure is, to be signified unto you all by his own mouth; trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise, as their highnesses have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him.

When the lord chancellor had thus ended his talk, the cardinal, taking the time then offered, began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court-gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The tenor of Cardinal Pole's Oration, made in the Parliament-House.

See
Appendix.

My lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled (which, in effect, is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm) as the cause of my repair hither hath been both wisely and gravely declared by my lord chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat to say touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's majesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth have restored me to a member of the same, and of a man having no place neither here or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in a place where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native

country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is, for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others;¹ and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above others; which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island, first of all islands, received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories testify, it was Christ.

Mary.

A. D.

1554.

England, of all islands, received first the faith of Christ.

"prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi."

For the Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes), did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally: and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion: so that within a small space idolatry and heathen superstition were utterly abandoned in this island.

This was a great prerogative of nobility; whereof though the benefit be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the church of Rome, in the faith of which church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to show further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travail and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, who thought it not enough to show themselves obedient to the said see; unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

In the time of Charlemagne, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world fet the light of religion from England.

Adrian IV., being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry II., king of England, the right and seigniory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see,² nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened.³ Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, which, by swerving from the unity of the church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection of the Turk. All stories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of sects, and divided into factions.

What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the

(1) More for the vantage that was hoped by it, than for any great love!

(2) That the faith of the Britons came first from Rome, neither doth it stand with the circumstance of our stories: and if it so did, yet that faith and doctrine of the Romanists was not such then, as it is now.

(3) Nay rather what riches and treasures the see of Rome hath sucked out of England, it is incredible.

(4) The cause of their subjection to the Turk cannot be proved to come by swerving from the unity of the church of Rome, for they never fully joined unto it. And as touching the subjection of Asia and Greece to the Turks, read in the story of the Turks before. [Vol. iv. page 18.—Ed.]

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

bitterness, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can say no more but—such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk, may freely live after their conscience; and so was it not lawful here.

If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they shall well find that the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infect you: for they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed by these changes to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, as the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted; even like as in a lamp, the light being covered, yet it is not quenched, even so, in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith; namely, in the breast of the queen's excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified, "Ecce quasi derelicta!"

And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given: and therefore it may be said, "Da gloriam Deo." For in man's judgment, on her grace's part was nothing in appearance but despair.

And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governess, born among you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such catholic governors. It shall be, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

The cardinal here
appeareth to be a
false prophet.

Charles the emperor
compared to
David.

Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travelled most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet, happily by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end: with whom in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof when we had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, that it rejoiced him no less of the reconciliation of this realm unto christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom,—and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me being an Englishman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, who was "rex pacificus." So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father hath begun. Which church cannot be perfectly builded, without universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknow-

(1) And why then do ye, more cruelly than the Turk, persecute others for their conscience?
(2) What policy is this, to make promise to get strength, and to break it as the queen did?

ledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above : for all power is of God, according to the saying, "Non est potestas, nisi à Deo." And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two parts here in earth; which is, into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations : for secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil liver, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen's majesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

Mary.

A.D.
1554.

Two powers on earth : ecclesiastical and imperial.

The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome by special prerogative : from which see, I am here deputed legate and ambassador, having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open : not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build : I come to reconcile, not to condemn : I come not to compel, but to call again : I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

The power of the keys clerkly declared.

The pope's keys sent by the cardinal.

But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way : even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dis severed yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

The pope's keys cannot work in England, etc.

It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause ; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness.

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster ; where the king and queen's majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

The Copy of the Supplication and Submission exhibited to the King and Queen's Majesties, by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled—representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and mean, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the lord cardinal Pole, legate, sent specially hither from our most holy father pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome—do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and the dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same : offering ourselves, and promising by

O great sorrow and deep repentance.

*Mary.*A. D.
1554.

The
pope's ab-
solutio
cannot
come, but
by inter-
cession of
kings and
queens.

The sup-
plication
given up
to the car-
dinal.

*See
Appendix.*

Absolu-
tion from
the pope
given to
the realm
of Eng-
land.
England
brought
from
God's
blessing
into the
warm
sun!

Great joy
at Rome
for the
conver-
sion of
England,
and good
cause
why.

*See
Appendix.*

this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be alway ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

Whereupon we most humbly beseech your majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, hath made subject unto your majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and popes for the time being, serve God and your majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen.

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

An Absolution pronounced by Cardinal Pole to the whole Parliament of England, in the Presence of the King and Queen.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you! And we, by apostolic authority (given unto us by the most holy lord pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent in earth)¹ do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure and pain, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church (as in our letters more plainly it shall appear), in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing Te Deum, with great solemnity declared² the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise; whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be given to God with great joy, for the conversion of England to his church; and therefore (praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen), on Christmas even, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

A Copy of King Philip's Letter, written with his own hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the Realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English.

Most holy father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Manrique,³ that he should declare by word of mouth, or else write to your holiness, in what good stute

(1) Christ's absolution not sufficient, without the pope's be joined withal.

(2) With heavy hearts, God knoweth.

(3) See Appendix.

the matter of religion stood in this realm, and of the submission to your holiness, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feast of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service (to whose only goodness we must impute it, and to your holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these souls), that this realm, with full and general consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent to what they come to do, submitted themselves to your holiness, and to that holy see; whom, at the request of the queen and me, your legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof; but only that the queen and I, as most faithful and devout children of your holiness, have received the greatest joy and comfort thereof that may be expressed with tongue: considering that, besides the service done to God hereby, it hath chanced, in the time of your holiness, to place as it were in the lap of the holy and catholic church such a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your holiness shall always understand, that the holy see hath not had a more obedient son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy personage of your holiness, as I desire.

From London, the 30th of November, 1554.

Your holiness's most humble son, the king, etc.

Here followeth, likewise, the Cardinal's Letter to the said Pope concerning the same matter.¹

For Addenda.

Those things which I wrote unto your holiness of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apostolic see; though I did write then not without great cause, yet, nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countrymen did show, being so long alienated from the see apostolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne so many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the cause itself, should be put off by some other bye-matter or convention coming betwixt. For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed; for their own godly forwardness, and earnest desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest expectation.

This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day (who first brought his brother Peter to Christ), it is come to pass by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your holiness, by whose means it may be conjoined to Christ the head, and to his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, "Amen, Amen." Which doth evidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility.²

Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your holiness upon the sudden, rejoicing that I had so luckily brought to pass so weighty a matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: but afterwards, changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of mine own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the more ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance. Which thing as it was right great gladness to me, through the event of the same (being itself very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): so likewise I took no less rejoicing of the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection.

Of how many, and how great things may the church (which is the spouse of

(1) The Latin copy of this letter is in the First Edition, pp. 1012, 1013, and will be found in the Appendix.—E.

(2) The pope's authority was as much welcome to the nobility of England as water into the ship.

*Mary.**A. D.
1554.*Cardinal
Pole flat-
tereth the
king.Scripture
well
applied.The
Scripture
speaking
of Sion
and Jeru-
salem;
unaptly
applied to
the pope.

Christ, and our mother) make her account through those her children! O notable zeal of godliness! O ancient faith! which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that whose seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) say the same which the prophet spake of the first children of the church: "*Isti sunt semen cui benedixit Dominus. Hæc plantatio Domini ad glorandum.*" That is, "These are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lord's planting to glory in." How holily did your holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage! which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King,¹ which, being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind. For even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and son of this virgin (for he so behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is a husband), that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, show himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and to his body, which is the church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our mother the church herself look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their sons, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous? which virtue, truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a rod of incense springing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert—she, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine! What a savour of myrrh and frankincense doth she give forth unto her people, who (as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ) brought forth, before she laboured; before she was delivered, brought forth a man-child! Who ever heard of such a thing, and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole nation be brought forth together? But she now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in most great hope.

How great cause is given to us to rejoice! How great cause have we to give thanks to God's mercy, your holiness, and the emperor's majesty, which have been causes of so happy and so godly a marriage, by which we, being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Christ, and to the church! of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoicing, this also was joined (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Conza, your holiness's nuncio with the emperor's majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness), that your said holiness began to restore to the ancient beauty those things, which, in the church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed; which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and speak unto your holiness with these words:² "Put off the stole of sorrow and vexation; and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God in everlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy sons gathered together from the sun-rising to the going down of the same, rejoicing in the holy word." There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the west, which prepare themselves to meet their mother) which they had rather see, than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth: that your holiness's joy, and the joy of all the universal church may be perfected; which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your holiness long to continue in health, for the profit of his church!

From London, the last of November, 1554.

Your most humble servant,

Reginald Pole, cardinal.⁴

(1) O dissimulation of a flattering cardinal!

(2) What similitude is betwixt light and darkness? 2 Cor. vi.

(3) "Exue te stola luctus et vexationis, et indu te decore, qui à Deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum à Deo sempiternum, pax iustitie et honor pietatis. Tum autem dicitur, circumspice et vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole usque in occidentem, verbo sancto gaudentem." (4) See Appendix.

A Lamentable Example of Cruelty

SHOWED UPON JOHN BOLTON, A MAN OF READING, IMPRISONED
FOR THE TRUE TESTIMONY OF A CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

*See
Addenda.*

*The¹ Lent following the coronation of queen Mary, which Lent was in the year 1554, there was a writing set upon the church-door at Reading in Berkshire, containing matter against the mass, but the author thereof then, and a long time after, was unknown; although now certainly known to be indeed one John Moyer, who afterwards confessed the fact, recanted, and is now made minister. Great inquisition was in every place thereabouts, but nothing, as I said, could be found certainly. Amongst many others one John Bolton was suspected, and being asked his mind of the mass answered, that he took it to be against the word of God and contumelious to Christ: upon the which words, he was by the mayor (whose name was Boyer, and by science a tanner), with other officers, committed to the gaol about three weeks before Easter; where being kept by the space of a week or a fortnight in the under-prison or dungeon, afterwards [he] was had up to a chamber of the gaoler's (whose name was Welch), having his bed and other necessities to help himself withal, and so continued until Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, came through the town with king Philip and queen Mary, straight upon their marriage at Winchester.

Then the said bishop, hearing of the said John Bolton, sent for him to talk with him, persuading him, what he could, to relent from the truth. But he stood steadfast, and most boldly reprov'd the said bishop to his face, and replied most earnestly against his persuasions; whereby the bishop being greatly moved commanded he should be had to prison again, there to be kept with bread and water, and nothing else: charging, further, that whosoever came to him should, in anywise, immediately be set by him. Well, John Bolton was, thereupon, carried again to the gaol and put into the dungeon, or under prison, where he was before; which is under the ground about twelve feet deep, compassed about with most thick walls, without any light saving that only which cometh down at the entry; but (which is the best) both above the head and under foot it is boarded. And alas! to no purpose (poor John Bolton might say), for he was not once suffered to walk any part therein, but [was] most cruelly stocked and chained, as hereafter followeth. In the same dungeon is a marvellous evil scent or odour, and the whole proportion most terrible to see. In the midst thereof be a huge pair of stocks, of a great height, wherein they did put both his hands and his feet; on the other side of the stocks were his legs tied with a great chain of iron, being surely fastened to a great [and] mighty block unmovable. And hanging on this sort by the hands and feet sometimes a day and a night together (his body not touching any part of the ground), the gaoler often would ease him and loose his hands sometimes at night, but his feet he would keep in the stocks still, whole three or four days together. And, being in this woful and most miserable case, the gaoler and his family would wickedly, in the night season, oftentimes (to trouble the good poor man) cast squibs of fire into the dungeon, whereby his

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 1017.—Ed.

Mary. empty and careful head might be troubled with vain and fond fantasies; which came to pass, as hereafter shall be showed.

A.D.
1554. Now his honest good neighbours, hearing of his perplexity, were not a little careful for him and sent their benevolence liberally to him; as wholesome meats and drinks to comfort his weak body, which always was either eaten up by the gaoler and his household, or else brought to the grate of the prison, and there given to dogs before his face: so cruel and unmerciful was this wicked gaoler. Whereby the said poor John Bolton was enforced (alas! the pity) to eat his own excrements for very hunger; some thinketh for the space of six days, some thinketh more, some less; but although how *long* the time is uncertain, yet, that he *did* it, is most true.

Thus was he in the lower prison just twelve months and ten weeks, having sometimes his hand and feet in the stocks; sometimes his feet only, sometimes neither; sometimes having checks, taunts, scornings, threatenings, and mockings; otherwhiles having meat; otherwhiles, his own ordure: until, at the last, with terrible torments, solitary sighings, lack of liberty, meat, drink, with such like, and also eating that which nature most abhorreth, and that never was heard of before in any tyrant's days, [he] began, I say, at the last, to be full of ravings and strange fantasies, in such sort, that men took him as one without reason and distract of mind. Which being once known unto sir Francis Englefield, he, with his bloody brother the parson of Englefield, thought good to rid the prison of him; and so he was discharged.

It is not to be forgotten, amongst so many troubles, that in prison was laid awhile, for fornication, a collar-maker by his science; who, being of nature very tender, and feeling not one quarter of John Bolton's troubles and miserable torments, fell mad. And, through friendship of them who were more mad than he, liberty was given him to sit at the grate of the dungeon, to work for his living and to have the benefit of the light; which is (as prisoners say) no small benefit. This madman having his tools, that is to say an awl and a stretcher, and his liberty therewith, used the same almost to the destruction of his own wife and the said John Bolton. For she coming to visit him, being great with child and thinking of no danger (poor woman) towards her, the wretched madman ungraciously thrust his awl in her body, and slew the little babe within her womb. And yet, not content therewith, but to increase his mischief more and more, he also with the same instruments did, in divers places, hurt the said John Bolton sitting in the stocks, to the great peril of his life, and no less danger of the same continually, while the said collar-maker remained in prison; as it appeareth evidently at this present upon his body, for them that list to see.

Such cruelty, and so greatly was truth hated, and whoredom maintained, by this wicked gaoler, that the evil person could have liberty to do his mischief when he would, where the poor simple John Bolton (laid in for conscience' sake to Godward) might not once have so much favour as to be free from the stocks, and to walk a little for his comfort. 'Tis the truth of this story, approved by sufficient and credible testimonies, as well of the inhabitants of the said town of Reading (whose letters, at this present, for the certification thereof

we have to show, dated to us the twelfth day of May), as also by the confirmation of the party himself on whom this cruelty was showed, being although, through the same their extreme handling, weak and feeble, yet, God be praised ! a man alive.*

On the Sunday the 2d of December, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon was present the king and cardinal Pole. He took for his theme this part of the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans,¹ "This also we know, the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer, than when we believed," etc. Some notes thereof as they came to my hands, faithfully gathered (as it appeareth by sundry copies), I have here thought good to set forth.

Notes of a Sermon of the Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paul's Cross.

First, he showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: "Therefore St. Paul," quoth he, "to stir up their heavy dullness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer, than when they believed."

In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words :

Even as the sacraments of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come : but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law : for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past; as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, as men intending to sleep do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome : and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears : so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time?—And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear : even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle,² lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him : so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and images (which were laymen's books³) were cast down and broken.

This sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head : for when king Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, king Edward

(1) Chap. xiii.

(2) Who putteth out the candle, but they which extinguish God's word, and forbid the Scriptures that should give us light?

(3) They forbid laymen's books; but you, forbid the book of God.

*Mary.**A. D.**1554.*

(having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head: and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all.¹ When the tumult was in the north, in the time of king Henry VIII., I am sure the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope: but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

After this, master Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome: but the time was not then come; for it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of king Edward's reign the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, "*hora est*,"² the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's holiness, pope Julius III., sent unto us this most reverend father, cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the injuries done by us against his holiness, "*sed benedicere maledicentibus*," to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

Gardiner
claweth
the car-
dinal.

And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may always acknowledge ourselves offenders against his holiness—I do not exclude myself forth of the number. I will³ "Weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice." And I shall desire you that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, "*hora est*," the hour is come. The king and queen's majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his holiness, and his successors for ever;⁴ wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father,⁵ so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome—therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, "*Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea*:"⁶ Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a noble birth is come, yea, such a holy father (I mean, my lord cardinal Pole), which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers; who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar,⁷ which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ.

Win-
chester a
false pro-
phet.

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for the pope, pope Julius III., with all his college of cardinals; the bishop of London with the rest of that order. Then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and last, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains

(1) Then, belike, Christ is no head at all, to give life to his church, unless the pope's head also be clapt on the church's shoulders.

(2) *Imo*, "potestas tenebrarum."

(3) "*Flere cum flentibus, et gaudere cum gaudentibus*."

(4) Note how the meaning of St. Paul's words are here applied, "for ever."

(5) St. Paul, though he were the father of many churches in Christ Jesus, yet was he never so arrogant to take upon him to be supreme head of any church, but left that solely to Christ, and laboured to bring all under him.

(6) So Hezekiah pulled down the hill-altars, which Manassees afterward did set up: and yet we commend the doings of Hezekiah, and disprove the fact of the other.

of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring for their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his clerky sermon.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

About this very time a post or messenger was sent from the whole parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands and chantry-lands;¹ for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

*See
Appendix.*

On the Thursday following, being the 6th of December, and St. Nicholas's day, all the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

*The chap-
ter of
Paul's
absolved
by the
cardinal.*

On Wednesday, the 12th of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of master Throgmorton's quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their fine paid, which was two hundred and twenty pounds apiece; and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; and so, upon that declaration paying forty pounds apiece, they were delivered out of prison upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, being the 21st of December.

*The
questmen
of Throg-
morton
delivered.*

On the Saturday following, being the 22d of December, all the whole parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended: which commandment was wonderful contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the inferior sort, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

On the Friday following, being the 28th of December, and Childermas-day, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

MASTER ROSE WITH THIRTY PERSONS TAKEN AT A COMMUNION IN BOW-CHURCHYARD. ANNO 1555.

On new-year's day at night following, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-churchyard at the communion, and the same night they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the 3d of January, master Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor; and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain communication had between the bishop and him.

(1) "To establish the sale of abbey-lands." [Styrie writes under the year 1555: "Notwithstanding the law that was made in the parliament last year, confirming church lands to the present owners, yet so cautious was sir W. Petre, one of the principal secretaries of state, that he thought it not sure enough to rely upon it, and therefore obtained a bull this year from the pope, for the ratification of the manors and lands, that he had purchased of king Henry VIII., which had formerly belonged to monasteries, &c. This bull is extant in Dugdale's Monasticon, where it is specified, that sir W. Petre was ready to assign and demise the said lands to spiritual uses. The original bull was in the keeping of William Lord Petre (descended from the said secretary) anno 1672." Chap. xxiv. p. 464.]

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The act of
suprema-
cy passed
in the par-
liament.
A stir
between
the Span-
iards
and Eng-
lish at
Westmin-
ster.

The same day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult between Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to have ensued great mischief through a Spanish friar, who got into the church and rung alarum. The occasion was about two loose women which were in the cloister of Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof, whilst some played the knaves with them, others did keep the entry of the cloister with dags, in harness. In the mean time certain of the dean's men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost; but never a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado; and a great number also to be sore afraid.

Ye heard a little before the council's letter sent to bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was in the month of November, the 28th day. Of this child great talk began at this time to rise in every man's mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whom is here not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign commendation for his worthy affection toward his prince and her issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who, being the same time in the parliament-house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush my masters," quoth he, "what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our young master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," etc. By the which words both of him, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads of queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child: insomuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament there was eftsoons a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

The
words of
South-
well in
the par-
liament-
house.
See
Appendix.

Extract of an Act for the Government of Queen Mary's Issue.

Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will, of his infinite goodness, give her highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of the inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late king Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: for the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we

The judg-
ment of
the par-
liament
deceived
in God's
blessing.

have and repose in the king's majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her majesty's body to be born (if it should please God to call the queen's highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues; which God forbid)—according to such order and manner, as hereafter, in this present act, his highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's highness, that his majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit being of his said majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queen's majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern (whereof neither all this realm, nay all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his majesty should and would), yet, if such chance should happen, his majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his majesty reposed, with no less good-will and affection, than if his highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, etc.¹

Mary.

A.D.
1555.Order
taken by
parliament
for
queen
Mary's
child.Trust dis-
appoint-
ed.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader may understand, not so much how parliaments may sometimes be deceived (as by this child of queen Mary may appear), as rather what cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opinion, expectation, and working of our adversaries, hath helped and delivered us in this case; which otherwise might have opened such a window to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure, by this time, Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country. The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits! Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order taken in the parliament-house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the pope's churchmen had with Almighty God, who travailed no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as here followeth to be seen.

The
prayers of
the pa-
pists, of
what little
effect they
are with
God

(1) As it is to be seen in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parliament, to the same intent and purpose

Mary. A Prayer made by Dr. Weston, Dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the Queen's Deliverance.—Out of Latin into English.
A. D.
1555.

O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious queen Mary, being now at the point of her deliverance. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith, and of thy church say, "Where is their God?" *Amen.

¶ *Imprinted by John Cawode, &c.**

A solemn Prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's Child, that it may be a Male-Child, well-favoured, and witty, etc.

A devout
 prayer
 made by
 the
 catholics.

O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences; humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders; that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies² to thee and to the cross of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works which thou dost to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned; that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves, having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to a bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, "Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity; and thou shalt be blessed for ever."

Mary
 compared
 of the
 papists
 to Judith:

(1) The prayer in Latin, with the following inscription, is given in the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 1015.

A Prayer made by Doctor Weston, Dean of Westminster; and delivered to the Children of the Queen's Majesty's Grammar-school there; and said by them daily, Morning and Evening, for her Majesty.—
 "Iuste Domine Deus, qui, propter primæ mulieris pasculum, communem omnibus feminis severam et inevitabilem maledictionem denunciasti et imposuisti:—nempe ut in peccatis conciperent, et, gravidæ, multis et magnis cruciatibus subjacerent, et, tandem, cum vite periculo parerent:—quesumus, pro tuâ immensâ bonitate proque inexhaustâ misericordiâ, hujus legis edictum mitiga. Quiescat, paululum, ira tua, et reginam nostram Mariam, jam partum ententem, tuæ gratiæ sinu fove. Adjuva eam ut, sine periculo vite, dolorem superare; prolem corpore elegantem, animo nobilem, justo tempore valeat parere; quod post, angustie oblita, cum gaudio miserationis tuæ gratiam celebret, teque tuumque nomen nobiscum benedictum in secula seculorum! Oramus, obsecramus, obtestamur, Audi Domine et exaudi, ne dicant fidei et ecclesiæ tuæ hostes, 'Ubi est Deus eorum?'"—Ed.

(2) The papists call the protestants heretics and enemies to the cross of Christ, even as Ahab called Elias the disturber of Israel, when he was only the disturber himself.

And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent do cry: "Thou Mary art the glory of England," our joy, the honour of thy people; for that thou hast embraced chastity. Thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever.¹ But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip (not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king), and against thy servant Mary (by thy providence our queen), the restorers and maintainers of thy testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these, our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse,² be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts; whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises,³ and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies and schisms (for these be the most ready devices, and evident tokens of heretics) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure; only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever; and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work.⁴ Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her councillors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lust after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

The Lord gave a promise to Sarah and Elizabeth: so did he not to queen Mary.

Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham,⁵ in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God, and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, king Philip and queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may steadfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be

(1) Mark how, forgetting his prayer, he falleth to the praising of queen Mary.

(2) The Testament setteth up only the glory of Christ.

(3) If the changing of God's promises, destroying his inheritance, stopping the mouths of God's people; if contentions, wars, and schisms, be tokens of heretics, who so great heretics as the papists?

(4) Cry up louder, you priests! peradventure your god is asleep.

(5) It is not best such a one to be granted unto you; for being like Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, he may chance to smell out your corrupt doctrine, and to detest your bloody tyranny, etc.

Mary. their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever : Amen !

A. D.
1555.

Another Prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived Child.¹

O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son ; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly : defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived ; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul ; but that also she (the mother), through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

It followeth now further, in process of the story, that upon the Tuesday, being the 10th of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

The pope's supremacy established by parliament. Also other matters.

On Wednesday following, being the 16th of January, the parliament was clean dissolved. In this parliament, amongst other tidings, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII. were repealed, and also cardinal Pole, bishop Pates, Lilly, and others were restored to their blood. Also there was an act made for speaking of words ; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit a hundred marks ; and at the second time to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds ; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Three statutes against heretics revived.

Also in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy ; one made in the fifth year of Richard II. : another in the second year of Henry IV. : and the third in the second year of Henry V.² Also the doing of master Rose, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament ; and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's highness. The prayers of these men were thus : " God turn the heart of queen Mary from idolatry ; or else shorten her days."³

As touching the taking of master Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to that godly man and dear martyr of God, master Hooper, being then in the Fleet, in words as followeth.⁴

(1) In the First Edition, page 1016, this prayer is entitled " A short Prayer for Queen Mary, set forth in English by Thomas Smith, servant to her Majesty, to be daily and hourly prayed and said of good subjects."—Ed.

(2) See Appendix.

(3) Hereof read the statute an. 1 & 2, reg. Phil. et Mar. cap. 9.

(4) This letter and the two following are printed at the end of a work entitled " An Exposition upon the 23 Psalm—whereunto is added an Apologye made by the Reuerende Father and constante martyr of Chryste, John Hooper, etc., that he should be a maintainer and encourager of such as cursed the Queene's highness," etc. Lond. printed by John Tisdale, 1562, 8vo.—Ed.

* A Letter¹ sent to Master Hooper, concerning the taking of a godly
Company in Bow-Churchyard, at their Prayer.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

My duty humbly remembered :—You hear, I know, of a godly company imprisoned, which were taken upon new-year's night. Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch, perhaps, as you know not perfectly how nor wherefore, you shall understand that being upon their knees in ending of prayer (wherein they gave God thanks, prayed for the magistrates and estates of the realm, and required things necessary at his bountiful hands), two of my lord chancellor's men, as I am informed, came first into the chamber where they were, in Bow-churchyard; and, immediately afterwards, followed master sheriff with others, who commanded them all to stay, in the king's and queen's majesty's names : whereunto they humbly obeyed. For they came not thither weaponed, to conspire or make any tumult, but only like Christians, christianly to pray, and to be instructed, in the vulgar tongue, by the reading and hearing of God's word; as their conscience did enforce them, without the displeasure of God, to do.

For, as you well know, there is nothing so grievous to the patient in this world, as the gnawing and biting worm of a troubled conscience, being accused by God's law for the wilful transgressing of the same; as, by experience, we know by judge Hales:² who, contrary to the knowledge of God's word, consented to the wicked traditions of the papists, who, although in name they would be of the holy church and preachers of the gospel of Christ, yet, in fact and deed, do dissent from the same, and most detest that godly society; as by the cruel handling of the Christians by the prelates at this present, it doth evidently appear. Therefore I say that they might, without the offence of God, quietly pray together, as they be taught by his word, there assembled a godly company together, to the number of thirty: divided and sent to both the compters, where, at commandment, they yet remain. And with master Chambers, master Monger, and the rest in the Compter at Bread-street, I was yesterday; who (God be thanked!) be strong, and do rejoice that for well doing they are imprisoned: not doubting, but that as God hath vouchsafed to accept them worthy to sustain imprisonment for his sake, so he will strengthen them, rather to suffer death than to deny his truth; as the Lord knoweth, who assist you with his holy Spirit, that unto the end you may persevere in his truth: unto whose tuition, in my poor prayer, I humbly commend you. 3 of January, 1555. Maister Chamber, maister Monger, maister Shorte, and the rest in the Counter do pray for you, and, in Christ, salute you most heartily.*

Whereupon the said master Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation sent to the said prisoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The Answer of Master Hooper to a Letter sent unto him concerning certain Prisoners taken in Bow-Churchyard.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon new-year's day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice, that in well-doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again amongst us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished.

4 January An. 1555.

(1) This letter is inserted from the First Edition, page 1020: the genuine piety, combined with the perfect simplicity which it displays, cannot fail to interest the reader.—Ed.

(2) The history of Judge Hales may be found on a subsequent page of this volume.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

A Letter of Consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly Brethren taken in Bow-Churchyard in Prayer, and laid in the Compter in Bread-street.

A letter full of most heavenly consolation.

See Appendix.

The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethnics and Gentiles.

The pope worse than Trajan the heathen emperor.

When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians, in the primitive church, were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens,¹ in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition: whereupon the gentile emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. Lo! a gentile and heathen man would not have such as were of a contrary religion punished for serving of God: but the pope and his church hath cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of christian men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only, ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. Oh! glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake: for if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

The first onset of this persecution given in Bow-church-yard.

Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire.² Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish.³ Now ye be even in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence, and a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; ye stand for the true Christ (who is after the flesh in heaven), and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be you bound to God, to put you in trust with so holy and just a cause!

Remember what lookers-upon you have, to see and behold you in your fight—God and all his holy angels, who be ready alway to take you up into heaven, if

(1) Of this persecution read before. [Vol. I. of this Edition.—Ed.]

(2) Matt. x.

(3) Luke xii.

ye be slain in this fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries: for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them.' Shrink not, although it be pain to you: your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable eighth, tenth, and fifteenth chapters to the Romans, and the eleventh and twelfth to the Hebrews. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the meantime, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Comfort
taken out
of the
Scriptures.True obedience
putteth
no
doubts.All care-
fulness to
be cast
upon the
Lord.All the
strength
of the
pope's
religion
standeth
in out-
ward
force.Gentle-
men deli-
vered out
of the
Tower.The
preachers
called be-
fore
Gardiner.
*See
Addenda*James
George
dieth in
prison,
and is
buried in
the fields.

Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word: but, for lack of that, they would violently compel such, as they cannot by the holy Scripture persuade; because the holy word of God and all Christ's doings be clean contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me; and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit: and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

The 4th of January, 1555.

On the Friday following, being the 18th of January, all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry; sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Rogers, sir James Crofts, sir Nicholas Throgmorton, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawin Carew, master Gibbs, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On the Tuesday following, being the 22d of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house at St. Mary Overy's; from whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answering, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straiter prison than before they were, with charge that none should speak with them.

Among this number of prisoners, one James George the same time died in prison, being there in bands for religion and righteousness' sake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the fields.

On the Wednesday following, being the 23d of January, all the bishops with the rest of the Convocation-house were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves, to

Mary. win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour:
A. D. and so let them depart.
1555.

General
procession for
joy of the
realm's conver-
sion.

On the Friday following, being the 25th of January, and the day of the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church: wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, [and] eightscore priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and, last of all, came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix under a canopy.

Besides, there was also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover, the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the same day. From whence, after mass, they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entered the church at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night; whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk, why all this was done. Some said it was that the queen, being (as they said) with child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome; which opinion, of both, seemed most true.¹

Commis-
sion from
the card-
inal to sit
upon the
persec-
uted
preachers
for reli-
gion.

On the Monday following, being the 28th of January, the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them these three, master Hooper, master Rogers, and master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himself unto them.

Hooper
and Ro-
gers con-
demned.

On the Tuesday, being the 29th of January, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them; where sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon master Hooper and master Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat; who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

*See
Appendix.*

Ferrar,
Taylor,
and
Saunders
con-
demned.

On the Wednesday, being the 30th of January, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, master Bradford, master Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops; where three of them, that is to say, Dr. Taylor, master Saunders, and master Bradford, were likewise excommunicated, and sentence pronounced upon them; and so committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months' respite,² and it was granted him; and master Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed

(1) See the Appendix.

(2) According to Strype only one month was granted him. See Memorials under *Mary*: chap. xl. page 170, Edit. 1816. Strype has collected a few additional notes respecting Dr. Crome.—Ed.

themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where *will* beareth rule?

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers above recited, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians out of all the quarters of the realm (but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk), were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison; and afterwards, most of them, either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the prisons, and were buried on the dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ—of all the bloody persecution of this time—now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the preachers aforesaid lying in prison, unto the king and queen, during the time of the parliament, as followeth.

A Supplication of the persecuted Preachers to the King and Queen.

Unto the king and queen's most excellent majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament.

In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H. F. T. B., P. R. S., &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble king Edward the Sixth, did in all things show themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then, allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner not only cast into prison (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months), but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

*See
Appendix.*

The long imprisonment of the christian preachers.

In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing, in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

Request of the preachers, to stand to the trial of their doctrine before indifferent judges.

Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ: yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesu to the proconsul Sergius Paulus.¹

(1) Acts xiii.

Mary.A. D.
1555.

And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove, that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your majesties to appoint.

Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of judgment), your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent majesties long to endure.

END OF BOOK THE TENTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK XI.

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS,
WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES
OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND
WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN
MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.'

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Rogers.

THE 4th of February suffered the constant martyr of God, master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his life and bringing up.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, "The Translation of Thomas Matthewe."² He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue,

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Rogers
chaplain
to the
merchant
adventurers at
Antwerp,
brought
to the
gospel by
Tyndale
and Coverdale.

Rogers
goeth to
Wittenberg.

(1) See Edition 1559, p. 266. Ed. 1563, p. 1022. Ed. 1570, p. 1556. Ed. 1576, p. 1413. Ed. 1583, p. 1484. Ed. 1597, p. 1348. Ed. 1604, vol. iii. p. 98.—Ed.

(2) Of master Rogers's doing in this translation, read afore, vol. v. p. 412.

Marg. that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.¹

A. D.
1555.

Rogers
return-
eth into
England.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, king Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then, being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity-lesson there; wherein he diligently travailed, until such time as queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the Antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

Rogers a
reader
and pre-
bendary
in Paul's.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London², he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition³. The council, being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation⁴ was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house⁵; and so he did; although by flying, he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Called to
account
for his
sermon at
Paul's
Cross.
Again
called be-
fore the
council.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time⁶, till at

(1) "Dutch" here means *German*, being derived from *Deutsch*, the German word for *German*. The Latin edition (Bas. 1559, p. 266) here says: "Profectus illico Vuittebergam adeo in Germaniam disceda lingua celeres fecit progressus," &c.

(2) Mary came up to London and arrived at the Tower, August 3d, 1553; see *supra*, p. 388.—Ed.

(3) This offensive Sermon was preached by Rogers, on Sunday, August 6th: see *supra*, p. 390.—Ed.

(4) This proclamation is given at p. 390, dated August 18th; but at p. 538 it is said to have been issued August 21st. See Machyn's Diary, p. 42.—Ed.

(5) It seems from Haynes's State Papers of Lord Burghley, p. 170 (quoted by Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biogr.* II. p. 304), that Rogers was confined *before* the proclamation; for the minute of the Privy Council in Haynes says,—"August 16th, John Rogers, alias Mathewe, a seditious preacher, ordered by the lords of the counsaill to kepe himself as prisoner at his howse at Powles, without conference of any personne, other than such as are daylie with him in householde, until suche time as he hath contrarie commaundment."

(6) The Latin edition, p. 267, adds here that his dwelling was very near the bishop of London's; and that the proverb was realised, *πρὸς κακὸς γειτνῶν*. According to Foxe, *supra*, p. 393, he was confined to his house August 16th, 1553. See p. 609.—Ed.

length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space;¹ during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

Mary
A. D.
1555.

Rogers
sent to
Newgate.

See
Appendix.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers, made to the Lord Chancellor,² and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January, A.D. 1555.³

First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now."

Rogers:—"No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, save one that was by (whose name I know not), have, with one assent and consent,⁴ received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye do that?"

Rogers:—"The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from."

L. Chan.:—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head."

Rogers:—"I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

L. Chan.:—"Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

Rogers:—"I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God."

L. Chan. etc.:—"Yea," said the lord chancellor, and Tonstal bishop of Durham, and N**** bishop of Worcester, "if thou hadst said so in his days,"—and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—"thou hadst not been alive now." Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor, also, said to the lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could

No head
of the
church
but
Christ.

Supremacy
of
king Henry
VIII.

Why he
was
titled
supreme
head

(1) Rogers was committed to Newgate, Saturday, Jan. 27th, 1554, as Foxe states sup. p. 548. So that he was more than a year in prison: the Latin edition, p. 267, says, "menses complures." See p. 609, infra.—Ed.

(2) Stephen Gardiner.—Ed.

(3) See Harleian MSS. Number 421, art. 20.—Ed.

(4) Full cure against their wills, if they could otherwise have chosen.

(5) Richard Pate was bishop of Worcester, having stepped into Hooper's shoes, 1554 (Godwin).—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The
bishops
contrary
to their
former
doings
and writ-
ings.

not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers :—"My lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, etc. (as is before said), seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary¹, and the parliament hath so long agone condescended unto it." And there he interrupted me thus :

L. Chan. :—"Tush! that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers :—"With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

L. Chan. :—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let that act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto: whereas, in this parliament, it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Truth
goeth not
by num-
ber, nor
by the
greater
part.

Ten pri-
soners out
of New-
gate con-
victed
before
Gardiner.

Gardiner
refuseth
to have
the truth
to be tried
by learn-
ing.

The
bishops
neither
will stand
by their
assertion,
nor yet
will suffer
other men
so to do.

A fair
pretence
to excuse
your igno-
rance!

Here my lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant; unto whom I answered: "My lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my lord, by more or lesser part; but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him: "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee."—And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called: of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine *of the country,* which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question otherwise than thus: Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him, and he answering yea, was so discharged by the friendship of my lord William Howard, as I have understood.—He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, etc., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

L. Chan. :—"Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee."

Rogers :—"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

L. Chan. :—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown, and is faulty, inasmuch as he is condemned by his own judgment."

(1) Allusion is here made to a sermon from whence Foxe has made large extracts (see vol. v. pp. 80 to 86 of this Edition). It is entitled "A Sermon of Cuthbert, Byshop of Duresme, made upon Palme Sondaye laste past, before our Soverayne Kyng Henry the VIII. &c.:" printed by T. Berthelet, London, 1539. It was reprinted by Mr. Rod of Newport-street, in 1823.—Ed.

Rogers :—" My lord, I deny that I am a heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text."—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan. :—" If thou wilt enter into our church with us, etc., tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now."

Rogers :—" I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester :—" Why! do ye not know what is in your creed: 'Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam,' 'I believe the holy catholic church?'"

Rogers :—" I find not the bishop of Rome there. For 'catholic' signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan. :—" Show me one of them; one, one, let me hear one!"

I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to show one, and said, "I will show you one."

L. Chan. :—" Let me hear that; let me hear that."

Rogers :—" The bishop of Rome and his church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against 1 Cor. xiv."

L. Chan. :—" I deny that, I deny that: that it is against the word of God, let me see you prove that: how prove ye that?"

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, "Qui loquitur lingua," etc., "To speak with tongue," said I, "is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek," etc., and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God,"¹ (meaning God only at the most.) This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

**Rogers* :—" Well, then it is in vain unto men."

L. Chan. :—" No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Rogers :—" Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the wind."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul), as to wit, "to speak not to men, but unto God,"^s and, "to speak into the wind:" and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion.—Then said the lord chancellor.

L. Chan. :—" To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rogers :—" I will prove them possible."

"No," said my lord William Howard to my lord chancellor. "Now will I bear you witness, that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God—and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

Rogers :—" I have not granted nor said," turning me to my lord Howard, as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now *I come* to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, ye understand not the matter."

Lord Howard :—" I understand so much, that that is not possible."

"This is a point of sophistry," quoth secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester :—" Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers :—" Yea," but I could not be heard for the noise, "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin."

Mar.

A.D.

1555.

Compels to that which he cannot teach to be true.

The pope's church not catholic.

Speaking in a strange tongue against St. Paul.

See Appendix.

To speak to God only; to God and man; neither to God nor man, but to the wind.

Secretary Bourn.

(1) [Some] Imperfection [in the original MS.—Ed.]

(2) 1 Cor. xiv.

Mary. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the meanwhile to talk one of them one thing, and another another: "Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but to let them alone, and commit the matter to God."—Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and prove all my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

Rogers.—"No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose."

Worcester.—"All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rogers.—"Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Worcester.—"But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that."

Confused talk without order. *Rogers.*—"I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures."—And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: the one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again: "And away, away," said he; "we have more to talk withal." If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) "away, away!" *Up I stood,* for I had kneeled all the while.

Sir Richard Southwell speaketh. Then sir Richard Southwell, who stood in a window by, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that."
Rogers.—"Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;"—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

The bishop of Ely. See Appendix. Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, etc. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace, and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers speak at once. *Divers at once.*—"No!" quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially secretary Bourn: "A married priest, and have not offended the law!"

Rogers.—"I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful."

Divers at once.—"Where was that?" said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers.—"In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort: I should find a sour coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said (I could not well perceive who), that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Rogers wist not where that church was or is. Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I

Rogers had away to prison. *Rogers.*—"I said, yes, that I could tell where it was;—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door."

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true imps of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death; and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all, in us all; which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do): and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us), till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray: and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation—the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

His careful prayer for his wife and children.

The 27th day of January, at night.

The Second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if I might have been heard), the 28th and 29th day of January, 1555.

First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome), and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what this mercy meant; but now, I understood that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. "Should," quoth he, "when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be."

Winchester's mercy, what it meaneth. To rise to the pope, is to fall from Christ.

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and [neither] my conscience, nor no christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: "willing" to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long "long" tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogance, pride, and vain-glory.—I also granted mine ignorancy to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the

(1) Whatsoever is once concluded in a parliament, ought not to be reformed afterward by doctrine, nor the word of God; by the bishop of Winchester's divinity.

Mary world knew well, where and on which side pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory, was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

A. D.
1555.

Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's majesty (God save her grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said without fail, I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

Aldrich
witness-
eth with
Winches-
ter.

See
Appendix.

Then said Dr. Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they (the bishops) would bear him witness. "Yea," quoth I, "that I believe well:" and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in manner! yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then master comptroller and secretary Bourn would have stand up also, to bear witness, and did.

I said, it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

The opi-
nion of
Rogers,
touching
the sacra-
ment, re-
quired.

Then, after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few)—whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler; and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. "Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand 'really and substantially' to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament." And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: "My lord," quoth I, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have set me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you (God *it* knoweth), and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my living—which was against the law."

Cruelty
showed
without
cause.
Rogers a
year and
a half in
durance.

Gardiner
called
Edward a
usurper.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

"Was the king, then, a usurper," quoth I, "which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?"

"Yea," quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also:—"But yet I do misuse my terms," quoth he, "to call the king usurper." But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him, wherefore he set me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to prove it, and thereupon would set my life. "I preached," quoth I, "a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience; which was not small." I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after," quoth he, "against the commandment of the council."

Rogers
imprison-
ed against
all law.

"That did I not," quoth I, "let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have

gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend unto your mind. This charity doth all the world understand."

Mary.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, so long until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which, by a crafty devised law, was cast into the lions' den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

*A. D.
1555.*

Punished before any law was broken.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my lord chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

Master Gosnold laboured for Rogers.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January at afternoon, after that master Hooper had been the first, and master Cardmaker the second in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end; and in the end, Amen, sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God! Amen, Amen! let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand,—as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs), and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

Great mercy of Winchester no less than of the fox to the chickens, or of the wolf to the lambs.

I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into *his* church would I, by God's grace, never come.

"Well," quoth he, "then is our church false and antichristian?"

"Yea," quoth I.

"And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?"

"False," quoth I;—and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

The pope's church is the church of Antichrist.

"Come again," quoth the lord chancellor, "to-morrow between nine and ten."

"I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call," quoth I.

Rogers warned.

And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. (Thus much was done the 28th day of January.)

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Overy's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then the lord chancellor said unto me:

Rogers and master Hooper brought again before the lord chancellor.

"Rogers," quoth he, "here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined; whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy."

Gardiner's words to Rogers.

"My lord," quoth I, "I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I

Answer of Rogers.

Mary. have to say thereunto; and, that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

A. D.
1555.

Rogers not suffered here to defend himself by writing.

Whole councils turned by private persons

"When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached), ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet my lord," quoth I, "I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples," said I, "I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine:¹ that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

"Item, I could show," said I, "the authority of a learned lawyer Panormitane,² who saith, 'that unto a simple layman, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ—albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of—specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils; yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For," said I, "if Henry the Eighth were on live, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive³) then will ye (pointing to my chancellor) and ye, and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the bishops), say, Amen: yea, and it like your grace, it is meet that it be so enacted."

A case put to Winchester.

Rogers not suffered to speak.

Mark here the spirit of this prelate.

The godly spirit of Rogers.

Here my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; and bade me sit down mockingly, saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

"My lord," quoth I, "I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?"

"Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?" quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt *for* taunt, and check *for* check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak."

L. Chan. :—"See what a spirit this fellow hath," said he, "finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking."

Rogers :—"I have a true spirit," quoth I, "agreeing and obeying the word

(1) Contra Maximin. lib. ii. (olim iii.) cap. 14. § 3.

(2) Panormitanus. Extrav. de Appel. cap. "Significati." [The passage is quoted by Jewel in his Defence of the Apology, part iv. chap. 12, div. 2. On "the lawyer Panormitane" it may be observed that his name was Nicholas Tudeschi, a Sicilian, called Panormitane because he was abbot in Palermo, and was afterwards archbishop of that city. He was one of the most famous canonists, was present at the council of Basil (see vol. iii. p. 608), and participated in the opposition to pope Eugene. He died in 1445. See Dupin, Cent. xv. chap. 4, p. 87. He maintained the supremacy of the pope both in temporal and spiritual matters. See Bellarmine, De Pont. Rom. lib. v. p. 1. See Appendix.—Ed.]

(3) This was Sir Anthony Browne.

of God :” and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my master Christ’s matters; but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with “their” maintenance by cruel persecution used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, that are now in England, are the chief members): “Of laws I mean,” quoth I, “and not of all men and women which are in the pope’s church.” Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ’s institution; more for his own and his popish generations’ sake, than for religion or God’s sake), I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the 28th of January); wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted; for the most of them were of his own servants at that day (the 29th of January, I mean). At the last I said, “I will never deny that I said; that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.”

To be short, he read my condemnation before me particularly, mentioning therein but two articles; *that the Romish catholic church is the church of Antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He cursed me to be disgraced and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so he gave me over into the sheriffs’ hands, which were much better than his.*

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The church of Rome the church of Antichrist.

How Winchester seeketh for blood.

The copy of this his condemnation here, I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory, through the whole story to be referred unto.

The Sentence Condemnatory against Master Rogers.

In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholic church of Rome is the church of Antichrist: item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ: the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare, the same: we therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, (the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew), through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which, through manifold ways, thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy), to have been and to be guilty of

His articles.

Mary. the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: we therefore, I say—albeit, following the example of Christ, “which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live,” we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee; nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions—we therefore (Stephen, the bishop aforesaid), not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord’s flock with thine heresy (which we are greatly afraid of), with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart¹ do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid!

*See
Appendix.*

*Rogers
and
Hooper
sent to
Newgate.*

*After this, *he sent us (master Hooper I mean and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us (master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other), with bills and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop’s house, and so through St. Mary Overy’s churchyard; and so into Southwark, and over the bridge on procession to Newgate, through the city.

*A venge-
able thing
to be in
the pope’s
curse.*

But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse; and what a vengeable dangerous matter it *were,* to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

*Rogers’s
words to
Winches-
ter.*

“Well my lord,” quoth I, “here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there-for. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.”

*Rogers’s
request
not
granted.*

“What is that?” quoth he.
“That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.”
“No,” quoth he, “she is not thy wife.”

(1) These murderers pretend sorrow of heart, and yet they will not cease from murdering.

"Yes, my lord," quoth I, "and hath been these eighteen years."

"Should I grant her to be thy wife?" quoth he.

"Choose you," quoth I: "whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless."

"She shall not come at thee," quoth he.

"Then I have tried out all your charity," said I. "Ye make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but ye maintain *their* open whoredom; as in Wales," quoth I, "where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like."¹ Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is besides, penned by master Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting-down.

Other godly Matter penned by Master Rogers, including his Admonitions, Sayings, and Propheysings.

Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said. Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me: the other was to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded:—

"It is not unknown to you, that king Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome; he pulled down abbeys: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

"King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests; turned the service into English; abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery; set up the holy communion: and all by consent of parliament.

"The queen that now is hath repealed the act that made her bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority; beginneth to set up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

"If the acts of parliament, made in king Henry's time and in king Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

"If your acts, my lord chancellor, which you have lately coined (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge—devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow), be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught; which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary.—If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book

(1) "Turpissimum est quod et hos cum concubinis, pellicibus, et meretriculis cohabitare, liberosque procreare sinunt, accepto ab eis, atque adeo alicubi a continentibus, certo quotannis censu: habeant (aiunt) si velint." Claude D'Espence in Epist. ad Titum. cap. i. p. 67. Parisiis, 1668. See also Labbe, tom. xiii. c. 1399.—En.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

*Mery.*A.D.
1555.

'De vera Obedientia,' where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England?

"Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

"In king Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences: so great is your cruelty.

"For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over), ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

"And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few had conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry; and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

"King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy with other, like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty like wavering weathercocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again to the catholic church;' meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantily can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing in itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at the length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set a sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and preached to be true doctrine in king Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

"Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forso much as the acts of

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word—as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage (which St. Paul calleth 'the doctrine of devils') with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in Acts v., where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandment to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us. Notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered 'Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus:' that is, 'We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you—God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.'

"The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and council hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it. And whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the over hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the Antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, of all such as fear God and love his truth."

And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

Now touching the second point: That whereas my lord chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said:

"Secondly, my lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent king Edward's days, it may please your lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel; as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us."—I would also have told him, what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all, did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord there-for: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer there-for before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like; so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

"But, my lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

"But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God, you do not.

"I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

"And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle (for so you report and brag openly of yourself), and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly-wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness: 'Dedit dilectam animam suam in manus inimicorum ejus.' Hierem. xii.; that is, 'He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.'

"This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, etc.: that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

"Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod's son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thralldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah, and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

"But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, and by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh, I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

"They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea Christ and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught anything of our adversaries' doctrine; namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

church : but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul,¹ John,² and Daniel;³ which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it : and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they, in their days, were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world ; for unto John Baptist it was said, ' Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet ? ' ⁴ etc.—as who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church ; for we be in ordinary possession of the church : and of us thou hast received no such power : we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas⁵ heard like words of the Philippians : These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens,⁶ the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, ' Quid vult spermologus hic dicere ? ' What will this prater (as my lord chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate,—when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written), trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage ? that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, etc. And another said in the same place, ' He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, ' etc. ; and the Jews say by Paul,⁷ laying hands on him, ' Help, O ye Israelites, ' say they ; ' this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people (meaning the Jews), and the law of this place (meaning Jerusalem) : ' and yet was never a word of these true. And the same Jews said of Paul : ' Out of the earth with that man, ' or ' Away with him : ' for it is not lawful for him to live, ' or ' he is not worthy to live. ' And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible ? Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known (yea and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also) unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them) ; and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it ; as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences—that we are no heretics, but members of the true catholic church ; and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

" But here they will cry out, ' Lo ! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets, ' etc.

" I answer, ' We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them ; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. ' The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this ; that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

" We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing : *that* we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings ; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, leasing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sisters, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is ; being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice ; which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted

(1) 2 Thes. ii.
(5) Acts xvi.

(2) Apocalypse.
(6) Acts xvii.

(3) Chap. xi.
(7) Acts xxi.

(4) John i.
(8) Acts xxii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all christian men to be like them; and herein are all true christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them.

God's justice upon his enemies and persecutors.

Winchester's mercy.

"But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart (that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof), into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, and disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures; to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God; to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness there-for, and to make them to sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalene, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes—let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children,¹ he utterly destroyeth, yea and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile beasts, lice, and small worms. Must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land; yea out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days (that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death), God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did, with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites; and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. O that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was by his counterfeit mercy, which was in deed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that this bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry and wilful following of them, not abide a great brunt?—Yes, undoubtedly.

"If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they

(1) Heb. xii. Prov. iii.

speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day, when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly; whatsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the meanwhile, by God's good sufferance and will.

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and mauge his heart, the captive, thrall'd, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple build'd up again by Zerubbabel, Esdras, and Nehemiah, etc. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and be taken in of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the disperp'd English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent king Edward's days, and our bloody Babylonical bishops; and the whole crown-shorn company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying false doctrine; their hypocrisy, bloodthirst, whoredom, idleness; their pestilent life, pamper'd in all kind of pleasure; their thrasonical boasting pride; their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that 'If judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them, that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear?' Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry here, as long as ye may!"

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

See
Appendix.
He meaneth here of the return of the exiles into England.

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the 4th of February, A.D. 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warn'd suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then found asleep, scarce with much shogging could be awak'd. At length being rais'd and wak'd, and bid to make haste, "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points:" and so was had down first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he crav'd of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: "Nothing," said he, "but that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But that could not be obtained of him. "Then," said he, "you declare your charity, what it is." And so he was brought into Smithfield by master Chester, and master Woodroffe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

See
Appendix.

Rogers warn'd to prepare for death.

Rogers degraded; could not be suffered of Bonner to speak to his wife before burning.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings and martyrdom: first, this godly master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light: wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little

The copy of Rogers's examinations by God's providence preserved.

(1) 1 Pet. iv.

*Mary.**A. D.**1555.*

above, how master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife; which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was, to take away his letters and writings; yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away; it chanced her son aforesaid, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs: who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof, was also contained, that which concerneth a propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the church, and which, in the same his words as they be there written, may be seen in the end of his "Admonitions, Sayings, and Prophesyings."¹

Rogers prophesieth of the return of the gospel.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book,² who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches; or else their end will be worse than ours. And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was (master Hooper also agreeing to the same), that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got; so that popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request: showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

Rogers's counsel in placing good ministers.

Over and besides divers things touching master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of king Edward the Sixth, there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of

A note touching priests' caps.

(1) This propheticall forewarning commences at "If God look not mercifully upon England," and closes "O ye wicked papists! make ye merry here as long as ye may." See pp. 608 and 609.—*Ed.*

(2) John Daye, who may be called the printer of the English Reformation. In the reign of Edward VI. he printed many writings of the Reformers. Consult "Ames' Typographical Antiquities," by Dibdin, vol. iv. for the best account of his publications. See also "British Reformers," p. 35, and Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1832.—*Ed.*

priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of king Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition: that if they would needs have such a uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, etc., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other: otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap; as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised: that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander Andrew their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that.

The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him;" presupposing they should both be burned together, although it happened otherwise; for master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him master Woodroofe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," quoth master Woodroofe, "thou art a heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," quoth master Woodroofe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for *you*," quoth master Rogers; and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the 4th of February, by the sheriffs toward Smithfield, saying the psalm "Miserere" by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, *the¹ fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. And, after lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had consumed them—most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father.* A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Provision
by Rogers
for the
prisoners.
Alexander,
gaoler of
Newgate,
and Alexander
the
copper-
smith.The
words
of Wood-
roofe to
Rogers.See
Appendix.Rogers
refuseth
his par-
don.

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1036.—Ed.

Mary. refused. He was the first proto-martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christ's gospel.

A. D.
1555.

The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry,

Scholars
out of
Eton-col-
lege,
to the
King's-
college,
Cam-
bridge.

Saunders
first
bound ap-
prentice
with
master
Chester.

Saun-
ders, ap-
pointed
to the
trade of
merchan-
dise,
could not
away
with that
kind of
life.

After that queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed king Edward), but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the school of Eton; from whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's-college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry. Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation: so that when his other fellows were busily occupied about that kind of trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations; as one not liking that kind and trade of life.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was, of that his solitariness and lamentation; who then, perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life (for so Saunders declared unto him), and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and, giving him his indenture, so set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being ravished with the

love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long time in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Therewith, also, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher. In study he was diligent and painful; in godly life he declared the fruits of a well exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour; and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. Then was his company marvellous comfortable; for as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others who were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he proceeded master of arts, and a long space after.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.From
merchan-
dise he
returneth
to his
study.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after license obtained, he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-Langton, whereupon he, keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows in Bread-street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

Reader
in the
college of
Fotherin-
gay.After-
wards at
Lichfield.*See
Addenda.*

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it (such I mean as were for the queen), he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and Antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men, which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner: but, partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand,

His con-
stant pur-
pose.

Mary. inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him; seeing he could resign
A. D. neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.
1555.

Refuseth
to fly the
realm.

Thus passed he to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At that time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation aforesaid) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to fly out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock, of which he had there the charge.

Mordant
dissuad-
eth Saun-
ders from
preach-
ing.

On Saturday, the 14th of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, sir John Mordant, a councillor to queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him, whither he went. "I have," said Saunders, "a cure in London; and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," quoth master Mordant, "let them alone, and come not at them." To this Saunders answered: "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation? if any want good counsel, and need instruction? or if any should slip into error, and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," quoth Mordant, "preach such a day (and named a day) in Bread-street, London?" "Yes verily," said Saunders: "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," quoth master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Saunders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place; where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you," quoth the other, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Saunders. "Nay," quoth he, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty: where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was there about him, asked him how he did. "In very deed," saith he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison:" meaning that there his mind was unquiet until he had preached; and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

Saunders
"in pri-
son till he
was in
prison."

His ser-
mon at
Allhal-
lows.

*See
Appendix.*

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians:¹ "I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ." He recited a sum of that true christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through

(1) 2 Cor. xi.

faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue. The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God,¹ and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop in his palace of London, who had in his company the aforementioned sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Saunders apprehended by Bonner at his sermon, Mordant accuseth him.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip, until another time; but a heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments and all orders of the church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine—that ceremonies were, even from the beginning, invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

Preaching of God's word made treason with Bonner.

Ceremonies invented only for weak infirmity.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, "My lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loath blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose—even to cut the writer's throat; as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with divers

Bonner seeketh the blood of Saunders.

Saunders sent from Annas to Caiaphas.

(1) 1 Cor. xiv.

Mary. others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.

A. D.

1555.

All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, sir John Mordant his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suiters met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the mean way, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

Winchester's talk with Saunders. His answer to Winchester.

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?"

Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forso much as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience.

Winchester.

"A goodly conscience surely," said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not, I pray you?"

Saunders.

Then said Saunders, "We," said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author:" privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of "True Obedience," wherein he had openly declared queen Mary to be a bastard. Now master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same." The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison." Unto whom master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

A privy nip to Winchester.

A notable example of the Lord comforting his servants in their troubles.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted; insomuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from

(1) Note how Winchester confuteth Saunders.

every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole year and three months; in all which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and also to others; certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his adversaries—as, in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof ye shall hear anon (by the leave of the Lord), as followeth in the story. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with master Saunders (as is aforesaid), sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, etc. For the Caiaphas (Winchester, I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his currish eloquence; and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Saunders
in prison
a year and
three
months.

A Parcel of a Letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, as an Answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did¹ was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation,² or at the least no wilful breaking of it; forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul:³ "This I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God," etc. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men: so that (God I call to witness) I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

A good
testimony
of a
good con-
science.

It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, "My sheep hear my voice."⁴ Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith: "The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger." Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God; being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing; yet he saith, "By their fruits ye shall know them."⁵ For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwithstanding.

How the
wolf is
known
from the
true shep-
herd.

(1) He meaneth public teaching of God's word in his own parish, called Allhallows, in Breadstreet in the city of London.

(2) He meaneth the proclamation, of which mention is made before: "Satis peccavit, qui resistere non potuit."

(3) Acts xxiv.

(4) John x.

(5) Matt. vii.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Incon-
venience
of the Rom-
ish reli-
gion in
three
points.

standing that otherwise, in sundry sorts of devout holiness in outward show, he seemeth never so simple a sheep.

That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:—

First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying, of Christ and his office of salvation.

Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his prescript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against the which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, doth speak sharply: "This people honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men."¹ And in another place: "Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions."²

Wherefore I,—in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and, by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation unsteadfast, and the building thereupon but vain: and, on the other side, having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church,—I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I shall not be able sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainsayer: yet nevertheless this my protestation shall be of me premised; that, for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot "explicita fide,"³ as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually express all that can be expressed, in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto I am professed: yet do I bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, so by my "fidem implicitam;"⁴ that is, by faith in generality (as they call it), to wrap my belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of that Romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any means remove me from the same, though it may hap that our adversaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and seek to spoil us through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ, etc.

And thus much of master Saunders's letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithstanding, by this already expressed, it is sufficient to understand, how good was the cause and state of this blessed child of God, being prisoner for Christ's cause. For the defence whereof he wholly bestowed and resigned himself, in such sort, as he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and, when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as by his letter following may appear.

A Letter of Master Saunders, to his Wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord:—Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present

(1) Matt. xv.

(2) Matt. xxv.

(3) "Explicita fides," is when a man hath to answer to every point of his faith by sufficient ground and learning.

(4) "Implicita fides," is when a man without instruction in himself, groundeth only upon the faith of the church, not able to render any reason of that which he believeth.

life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him! Amen.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me,¹ and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in Ephesians vi.; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

Saunders would have no suit made for him.

A prisoner in the Lord,

Laurence Saunders.

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, Antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but, by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with Antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston, a man, whom though I should praise, yet would all good and godly men worthily dispraise. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea: whereunto he thus answereth.

Anti-christ and death two enemies.

Part of a Letter of Master Saunders to a Friend.

Master Weston came to confer with master Grimoald.² What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly wily sort, etc. I had not so much good manners, as to take it at his hand; for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. "Ye be asleep in sin," said he. "I would awake," quoth I, "and do not forget 'Vigilate et orate,' i. e. 'Watch and pray.'" "What church was there, thirty years past?" "What church was there," quoth I, "in Elias's time?" "Joan of Kent," said he, "was of your church." "No," quoth I; "we did condemn her as a heretic."

"Who was of your church," said he, "thirty years past?" "Such," quoth I, "as the Romish Antichrist, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics." "Wickliff," said he, "Thorpe, Oldcastle," etc. "Yea," quoth I, "with many more, as stories do tell."

"The bishop of Rome hath," said he, "long time played a part in your railing sermons: but, now, be ye sure, he must play another manner of part." "The more pity," quoth I, "and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings;³ though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock." "Did you ever," said he, "hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?" "No," quoth I, "for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others," etc.—with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it.

What a blessed taste this good man had of God's holy Spirit, by divers and sundry his letters may right well appear to him that is

(1) 1 Tim. iv.

(2) This Dr. Weston and master Grimoald died both about the coronation of queen Elizabeth.

(3) Winchester's book "De vera Obedientia."

Mary. disposed to peruse the same : whereof certain we have here thought
A.D. good, the Lord willing, to express ; first beginning with that which
1555. he wrote out of the Marshalsea to Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer,
see *the very prophet of England, then being* prisoners for the like
Appendix. cause of Christ in Oxford.

To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer,
 being imprisoned in Oxford.

What a
 blessed
 taste
 Saunders
 had of
 Christ's
 comforts.

In my most humble wise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord.—Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto that our Father of mercies, "which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light; which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son; by whom we have redemption through his blood,"¹ etc. O most happy estate! that, in an unspeakable wise, our life is hid with Christ in God: but whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory.² In the mean season as our sight is but in a glass,³ even in a dark speaking, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses conceive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea even them "which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man,"⁴ etc. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of our joy, and good things given us of God.

We, heretofore, have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexpressible benefit; praised be that our most gracious God there-for! And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods; for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick,⁵ a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly say, with St. Paul,⁶ that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the gospel; so that our bonds in Christ are manifest,⁷ not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed, with you, give thanks for this excellent worthy favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you; yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death:⁸ of which thing truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although, for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed and to be with Christ,⁹ yet, for the church of Christ, were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant, through Christ, by your restoring! Amen, Amen.

But if it seem better otherwise, unto the Divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that "it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake." And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

And now, most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us

(1) Col. i.
 (6) 2 Cor. iv.

(2) Col. iii.
 (7) Phil. i.

(3) 1 Cor. xiii.
 (8) Phil. ii.

(4) 1 Cor. ii.
 (9) Phil. i.

(5) Matt. v.

and our estate, how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience, which I, most unworthy, have of God's good comfort (more abundance whereof I know there is in others), you may be assured, I say, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance,¹ (the which Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba," "Father,"); so, after such portion as God measurcth unto us, we, with the whole church of Christ, and with you reverend fathers, receiving the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; "I believed, and therefore I have spoken;"² we also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.⁴

Mary.

A. D.
1555.The constant
mind of a
christian
soldier.

And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though "we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours;" yet shall we not be dashed in pieces, for the Lord will put his hand under us. When "we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift:" when "we are in poverty, we are not utterly without something:" when "we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein:" when "we are cast down, yet we shall not perish:"⁶ but to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: For it is a true saying, "If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he shall also deny us."⁷ Wherefore we be of good cheer, "always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might appear also in our body. For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by the means of Jesus, and shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal."⁸

We testify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel.⁹ We trust to be merry together at that great supper of the Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself even as it were against himself,¹⁰ to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

A Letter of Laurence Saunders to his Wife.

Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. O Lord! how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! It phantasieth forsooth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith

(1) Ephes. i.
(2) 2 Cor. iv.
(9) Isaiah xii.

(3) Rom. viii.
(6) Ibid.

(3) Gal. iv.; 1 Cor. iv.; Ps. cxvi.
(7) 2 Tim. ii.
(10) See Edit. 1563, p. 1043.

(4) Phil. i.
(8) 2 Cor. iv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventure there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed so to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ:¹ and having this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be God's and not ours, "we are (according to his good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body."² Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that "our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen."³ "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." "For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him."⁴ Then, then, shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then, shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, "Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen."⁵

God's
promise
firm and
sure.

Trust up-
on God's
promise.

In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's bidding: "Let them," saith he, "that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their souls to him with well doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker."⁶ He is our Maker; we are his handiwork and creatures, whom now, when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship; leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest; but he comforteth us his creatures. And in him we live, move, and have our being.⁷ Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender goodwill and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him.⁸ He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us.⁹ And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth, as in much anger, to have given us over and forgotten us? Let not us, for all that, leave off to put our trust in him; but let us with godly Job conclude in ourselves and say, "Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him."¹⁰ Let us, with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who, though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet "will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but dust."¹¹ Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west: so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him." Oh! what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God. We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist, "Praise the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits."

Saun-
ders's
godly be-
quest to
his wife.

Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry consciences (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more), that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to

(1) 2 Cor. iv.
(7) Acts xvii.

(2) Ibid.
(8) 1 Pet. ix.

(3) Ibid.
(9) Isa. xlii.

(4) Psalm cxxvi.
(10) Job xiii.

(5) 1 Cor. xv.

(10) Job xiii.

(6) 1 Pet. iv.
(11) Psalm ciii.

retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

Laurence Saunders

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

*He¹ wrote many other letters, full of godly instruction and consolation, which cannot all in such large sort be added, as I have done these; therefore thou shalt now, good reader, be content with some such short things as are gathered out of his writings. Being in prison he was, to his fellow-prisoners, a profitable prisoner, to whom, as he faithfully disposed the bread of life, so left he record thereof in this English metre following.

Experience of the comforts of Christ in prison.

Laurence Saunders to his Fellow-Prisoners in the Prison of the Marshalsea.

The grace of God declared is, in Christ, his Son most dear,
And teacheth us, in holiness, to live in his true fear;
Whoso then, in that heavenly birth, a child is rightly born,
His Father's will he followeth, and thereunto is sworn.

Children, of love, their father's will do lovingly embrace;
Servants, of fear, their master's will to do, do somewhat pass:
To children and to servants, both, the rod doth off time reach;
The children and the servants, both, the rod doth penance teach.

All ye, therefore, which in this place in strait bondage now be,
Be servants unto righteousness, from sin be loose and free;
Be mindful of all duty, due unto the Lord above,
Be thankful for his benefits, the pledges of his love.
Consider with yourselves, I say, to sanctify the Lord,
In every place, and that alway, by thought, deed, and by word.

Laurence Saunders.

Of the Communion of Saints, the true taste whereof he learned and felt even in prison, thus he wrote in a letter which he sent to a gentlewoman:

[A Letter of Laurence Saunders on the Communion of Saints.]

Herein [speaking of such friendship as she shewed unto him] do I take occasion of much rejoicing in our gracious God and heavenly Father; who, as he hath in his unmeasurable mercies by faith handfasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual espouses of such an heavenly husband, so he linketh us by love one to another; being by that bond compact together, with such charitable readiness to do good one to another, that, first, to the glory of God and his Christ; then, to our own joying in the testimony of a good conscience; last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confounding of our adversaries, we bear that badge, as the right spouse of Christ, which he himself noteth in this saying, "Herein shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."² Then, further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that, though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and be,³ who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another; wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members in this mystical body. And though that, either for lack of ability, or else for distance of place, power, and opportunity of present helping one another by bodily presence do

(1) The English metre, and the portions of three letters following, are from the Edition of 1563, pp. 1044 and 1045.—Ed.

(2) John xiii.

(3) Acts xvii.

Mary. fail, yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial head, by his Spirit to be measured severally as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer one for another, scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and the arm cannot reach such God's riches, etc.

A.D.
1555.

In another Letter thus he writeth of true Taste of God's Love by Faith; with the Fruits thereof.

The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of his Christ our Saviour, who may by conceit of mind comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! Much less can the same by any means be expressly uttered. And, as such heavenly blessings which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so, hard it is to utter (when the faithful are set on fire by love) their readiness to reach forth by charity, to scatter and give, as by faith they have received. But, alas, "we carry this treasure in earthly vessels."¹ Many times faith is feeble, and love loseth her fervour: pray we, therefore, "Lord, increase our faith," and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who, in our Christ, hath bestowed upon us the first fruits of his Spirit, which crieth in our hearts, "Abba," "Father."² And, as St. Paul saith, "Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed and therefore have I spoken, we also believe and therefore we speak;"³ yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven to say with Moses, "O Lord! I am slow-mouthed;"⁴ and with Jeremiah, "O Lord! I cannot speak,"⁵ etc.

In this letter he doth, with most tender affection, commend his wife and child to the christian care of that same his dear friend to whom he did write; which doth declare, that, as he had learned to forsake both wife, child, and life, for Christ's sake, so did he therewith retain that godly care over them which becometh a true Christian.

This affection is most lively set forth in another letter, which he did write to his wife; in which (after he had admonished her that she should not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue), he saith:

Laurence Saunders to his Wife.

You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger, by keeping of faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in the meditation of God's most holy word, which is the sustenance of the soul; and also by going yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means by which the members of Christ are made daily more meet to inherit his kingdom. Wherefore do this, dear wife, in earnest, without leaving off; and so shall we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth; and so, if we two continue God's children grafted into our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (as it seemeth) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath He said which cannot lie, "I will be thy God and the God of thy seed." Yea, if you being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, either to do any work of obedience, should be compelled to leave him in the wild wilderness, destitute of all help, that God which heard the cry of that poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, and did succour it, will do the like to this

(1) 2 Cor. iv. 7.
(4) Exodus iv. 10.

(2) Rom. viii. 5.
(5) Jer. i. 6.

(3) 2 Cor. iv. 13.

our child, and to the child of any other which feareth God and putteth his trust in him. If we lack faith to believe this (as many times we do indeed), let us call for it, and we shall have both the increase of it, and of any other good grace needful for us. Be merry in God, dear wife, for I am very merry. Oh Lord! what great cause have we of rejoicing, when we think upon that kingdom which God vouchsafeth, for his Christ's sake, freely to give unto us, forsaking ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to "take up our cross and follow him." Then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly. Amen; shortly, shortly, etc.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

To the commendation of a true fatherly affection doth this also make not a little.*

As the said master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers-by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to*advow*this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections—natural, but *yet* seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit—unfeigned and hearty, but thoroughly mortified—to use them and to be led by them to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unfoiled. Otherwise, both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied and given in his cause.

And now to come to the examination of this good man: after that the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at the length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first examination the effect and purpose thus followeth.

Saunders brought to examination.

See Appendix.

The First Examination of Laurence Saunders.

Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

Being convened before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth:

Lord Chancellor :—"It is not unknown, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say, that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen

Mary. again, and returned to the catholic church : you must rise with us, and come home unto it.—Give us forthwith a direct answer."

A. D. 1555. *Saunders* :—" My lord, and my lords all, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

L. Chan. :—" Leave off your painting and pride of speech : for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Saunders
standeth
upon his
con-
science.

Saunders :—" My lord, it is no time for me now to paint : and as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning, I confess, to be but small ; and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me : the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

L. Chan. :—" Conscience ! You have none at all, but pride and arrogance, dividing ! yourselves by singularity from the church."

Con-
science
ought
never to
stand
upon
things
uncer-
tain.

Saunders :—" The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand), I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old : being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

L. Chan. :—" Yea marry ; but, I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Saunders :—" My lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head : for the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint ; and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of your church again."

Bishop of London :—" And if it like your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Saunders :—" What I have written, that I have written ; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

L. Chan. :—" Well, you be obstinate, and refuse liberty."

A lawful
request,
but it
could not
be heard.

Saunders :—" My lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price : but I beseech your honours to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my conscience."

L. Chan. :—" Ah sirrah ! you will live as you list. The Donatists⁴ did desire to live in singularity ; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth.—No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days ; and therefore away with him !"

Saunders :—" Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours ! Amen."—This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, etc.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them altogether to prison. Laurence

(1) Of this dividing speaketh St. Paul, 2 Cor. vi., "Come out and divide yourselves from them," &c.; and Jeremiah, chap. 1.8.

(2) Conscience ought never to stand upon things uncertain : time and authority be things of themselves always uncertain : ergo, conscience ought never to stand upon time and authority.

(3) " Si non insanit satis sua sponte, instiga." [Ter. Andr. iv. 2. 9.]

(4) To live as the Scripture leadeth us, is not to live as we list. The papists desire the pope, the protestants Christ only, to be their head. Now, which of these two be most like the Donatists ?

Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that, which, by their falling from Christ to Antichrist, they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of Antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Saunders
freely
preacheth
Christ.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them still in secret: but in them, as he defended Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and papists of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the prison called the Compter, in his own parish in Breadstreet; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, master Cardmaker, with whom he had christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners; as by his letter hereafter shall be declared.

The second examination here lacketh.

Saunders delivered to the secular power.

The 4th day of February, the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he was, to disgrace him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church."

Saunders degraded by Bonner.

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him.

Carried to Coventry.

After master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you: but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me¹ of a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope."

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after his manner, and said, "O my good master! God strengthen and comfort you." "Gra-mercies good shoemaker," quoth master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where

A good shoemaker of Coventry.

Saunders put to the common gaol in Coventry.

(1) "Begun to me" seems to be equivalent to "hath challenged." Bishop Hall, in his Contemplations (The two Sons of Zebedee), writes, "O blessed Saviour, we pledge thee according to our weakness who hast begun to us in thy powerful sufferings;" and Herbert has "My flesh began unto my soul," page 94. Lond. 1824. See also Hamner's Translation of Evagrius, book I. cap. 11. Bishop Reynolds, in his "Meditations on the Lord's Last Supper," (chap. 8.) furnishes another example of the same idiom; "Because he himself did begin unto us in a more bitter cup."—Ed.

See Appendix.

Mary. he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

A.D.

1555.

Saunders brought to the place of execution.

The next day, which was the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, bare-footed, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to master Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm,¹ with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," quoth he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I; that believe I; that have I taught; and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him." And away from him went master Saunders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained, in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.

See Addenda.

Comparison between Laurence Saunders and St. Laurence.

And thus have ye the full history of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he, in his patient body, did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering, rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Laurence, gave also patience to this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

Strength to stand in Christ, cometh not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God.

And to the intent to give the reader to understand the better, what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself: here, therefore, have we added to the aforesaid story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A CERTAIN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN LAURENCE SAUNDERS
AND DR. PENDLETON, IN THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN
MARY'S TIME.

At the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and master Saunders, men known

(1) Ahab accuseth Elias for troubling Israel.

to the world, not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed king Edward, met together in the country, where, by occasion, they were at that time, and, as the case required (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand), fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereupon master Saunders, whether through very frailty indeed of his weak flesh that was loth to taste of the bitter cup, though his spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble spirited, that he showed himself in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to stick to his profession, and abide by his tackle: so as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage; nor so earnest before in pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood) took upon him to comfort master Saunders all that he might; admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf; neither, having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside and give it over; nor yet (that is worst of all), having once forsaken Antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others, by his example, to return to their vomit again.

After which and such like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him, "What, man!" quoth he, "there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you; forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcass, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you: and yet," saith he, "I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other, answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, oh, what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down Antichrist, and lustily preaching Christ his master; for the which he afterward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in repentance (which God only knoweth), that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the "apostata;" preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing Antichrist, and overthrowing

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Pendleton
a stout
preacher
of the
gospel in
king
Edward's
time.Saunders
timorous
in Christ's
cause at
the first
beginning.The stout
brags of
Pendleton
at the be-
ginning.God
giveth
strength
where
feeble-
ness is.
See
Addenda.Example
how fee-
ble man
is of him-
self, with-
out the
Lord sup-
port him.

Marg. poor Christ with all his mainy': so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor a false runagate, and of a true preacher a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgments of God, who, as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble: even so, contrariwise, throweth he down others, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore, let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

Rom. xlii.

Saunders diligent in writing letters out of prison.

This blessed man of God, enduring long time in prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful idleness, but still, from time to time, did visit his friends (as is said), and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. All which letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert; partly, because they are to be found in "The Book of Letters,"² partly, because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same hereafter more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

A Letter sent to Master Ferrar Bishop of St. David's, Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot.

Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, etc. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our most gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall, I doubt not, from blaspheming his blessed name: yea, not only that, but also "Out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings, shall be set forth his praise." They offer us, forsooth, our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that faith, which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. A pardon, say I, of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged conscience. "The Donatists," say they, "sought for such singularity; but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth—no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him." (Yea the time was named—within this seven-night.) "There be twelve hours in the day." Death shall be welcome," said I, "as being looked for long since: and yet do justice ye were best; for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your honours." Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah! "Puer sum, nescio loqui;" i. e. "I am a child, I cannot speak." My brother P. shall show you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside, about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such out-walkers; but then will they be at dinner.

Yours, as you know,

Laurence Saunders.

(1) See Appendix.

Rom. xlii.

(2) "The Book of Letters of the Martyrs." [This book was published by Miles Coverdale, in 1564; it has also been reprinted. London, 1837.—Ed.]

(3) "Ex ore infantium et lactantium perficiet laudem." Psalm viii.

(4) John xi.

A Letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his Wife, and others of the faithful Flock, after his Condemnation to the Fire; written the last of January, A.D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread-street.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God's glory. Amen.

Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so especially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear husband Christ doth, for my trial, leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if, for my proof, he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall, and hide himself (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballet),¹ yet will he peep in by a creast to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph. Though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly; yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried, to come unto him; as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch, yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God! Be not afraid of fray-bugs² which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience; and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ, our brazen serpent, hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph; and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, "Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!"³

The sweet comfort of Christ taketh away the fear of death from Saunders.

Joseph's handling of his brethren applied to Christ.

Christ a sweet brother unto us.

The sting of death plucked out.

Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow-heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer; and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardly write to you: wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock,⁴ among whom I am resident, by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

(1) Cant. ii. (2) "Fray-bug," or "fraybuggarde" (1st Edition), an imaginary monster.—Ed.

(3) 1 Cor. xv.

(4) To this his flock, the parish of Allhallows in Bread-street, he wrote also a fruitful letter, exhorting and charging them to beware of the Romish religion, and constantly to stick to the truth which they had confessed.

Mary. And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel's sake; bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom; requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor, who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor, *who¹ thus feedeth them by me. Give to mistress G. understanding of these my commendations, who will I know salute all the rest in my name with them.*

A.D.
1555.

Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom.—Amen, Amen, Amen! *Praised¹ be the Lord.* Pray, pray!

Another Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly Gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his Troubles.

The true
badge of
Christ.

Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two causes very comfortable: first, for that hereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will; whereunto I will daily say, Amen! And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who, as he hath in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joining in the testimony of a good conscience, and, last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our adversaries, we bear the badge, as the right spouse of our Christ, which he himself noted in this saying: "Herein shall all men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another."² Then further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us—in whom we live, move, and be—who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance—yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his mystical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail: yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial head by his Spirit, to be measured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body.³

Prayer distributeth God's blessings from one to another.

Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such God's riches. According hereunto I well perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all; and especially I have experience of your ready good-will towards me, in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as I also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdensome to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me: the Lord reward you there-for! If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know, for my sake, you will tender when I am departed hence, etc.

(1) From the Edition 1563—Ed.

(2) John xiii.

(3) John xv.

Another Letter to Mistress Lucy Harrington.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Grace and mercy, etc. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter, bringing with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected imperfectly to express, that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in myself, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! much less may the same by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas!) we carry this treasure in earthen vessels.¹ Many times faith is feeble, and then love loseth her fervor. Pray we therefore, "Lord increase our faith," and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, "Abba, Father."² And (as St. Paul saith) "Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak."³ Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth in us a mind to speak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, "O Lord! I am slow-mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips:"⁴ and with Jeremiah, "O Lord, I cannot speak."⁵

Faith
many
times in
us is
feeble.

Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that, as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so, in some part, I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good-will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail⁶ the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet council. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend; and therefore I beseech you even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as with mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto master Fitz-Williams, and my good lady; with thanks also for my poor wife and child. The Lord recompense them!

Saunders
com-
mendeth
the care
of his
wife to
mistress
Harrington.

Laurence Saunders.

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the same is lively set forth in another letter which he did write to his wife; wherein he admonished her that she would not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue; the tenor of whose letter here followeth.

Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain Remembrance to Master Harrington and Master Hurland.

Grace and comfort, etc.—Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs

(1) 2 Cor. iv.

(2) Rom. viii.

(3) 2 Cor. iv.

(4) Exod. viii.

(5) Jer. i.

(6) "Who can suitably with more things reward." See "Letters of the Martyrs." 8vo. 1837.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Care of
children
in time of
necessity
ought to
be left to
God, who
will not
see them
forsaken.

What it is
to follow
Christ.

not. You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth. And so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie, "I will be thy God," saith he, "and the God of thy seed." Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he voucheth safe for his Christ's sake, freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him? Dear wife, this is truly to follow him; even to take up our cross and follow him: and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen.

Another Letter to his Wife, to Master Robert Harrington and Master Hurland, and other Friends.

Grace and comfort, etc.—Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work; that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which Antichrist, with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God alway, my dear wife; and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake; be merry, and grudge not against God; and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who, in his Christ, hath given us great cause to be merry; by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. "Blessed," saith our Christ, "be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied."¹ Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, master Harrington and master Hurland, pray, pray. "The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak."² When I look upon myself,³ being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, "Lord, go from me; for I am a sinful man."⁴ But then feel I that sweet comfort, "The word of the Lord is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths,"⁵ and "this is my comfort in my trouble."⁶ Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say,⁷ "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life."⁸ This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience,

(1) Matt. v. 6.

(2) "Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma."

(3) "Quid ego stupidus et attonitus habeo quod dicam, nisi illud Petri, Exi à me Domine, quia homo peccator sum."

(4) Luke v.

(5) "Lucerna pedibus meis verbum Domini, lumen semitis meis," et "Hæc mea est consolatio in humilitate mea."

(6) Psalm cxix.

(7) "Domine, ad quem ibimus? verba vitæ æternæ habes."

(8) John vi.

when we come once to the combat. We be (I ween) within the sound of the trump of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses,¹ "praying in all places, lifting up pure hands;" and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it. And we then, being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his kingdom,² and shall stand in great steadfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us. And when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind: "These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but lo! how they are accounted among the children of God."³—The blessing of God be with you all, etc.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Laurence Saunders.

To his Wife a little before his Burning.

Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence unto our good Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!

He writ-
eth for a
shirt
wherein
he should
be burnt.

Another Letter to Masters Robert and John Glover, written the same Morning that he was burnt.

Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ.—O my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry, with that joy which no man shall take from us.⁴ O wretched sinner that I am; not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour! But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not-enough-circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters your wives; and, good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ, help, or else I perish!

Laurence Saunders.

After these godly letters of master Saunders diversely dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now, in the latter end, we will adjoin two other letters, not written by master Saunders the martyr, but by master Edward Saunders the justice, his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent; that the reader may see in these two brethren, so joined in nature, and so divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying, "Brother shall be against brother,"⁵ etc., as by the contents of these two letters following may appear.

(1) "Orantes in omni loco, sustollentes puras manus."
(3) Wisd. v. (4) "Eo gaudio quod nemo tollet à nobis."

(2) 1 Tim. ii. Wisd. v.
(5) Matt. x.

Mary.

A Letter of Justice Saunders to his Brother Laurence.

A. D.
1555.

After my most hearty commendations: these be to ascertain you, that I have spoken with master Basset, who hath showed me, that four pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation; before, it was due. As concerning your conscience in religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy ii. 'To handle rightly the word of truth;' wherein you, dissenting from many holy and catholic men, especially in the sacrament, it maketh me in my conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, etc.;² yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact, and divers others of his sort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us): and surely the sentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conscience, than three hundred of the Zuingleans, or as many of the Lutherans, can or should do. Thus in haste, willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert. If you shall need towards your finding (if you shall require it of me), you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us.—Scribbled this Thursday, by your brother and petitioner to God,

Ed. Saunders.

Another Letter of Justice Saunders to his Brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to Popery.

Greeting
with pro-
testation.The Me-
ditations
of S. Ber-
nard sent
by Justice
Saunders
to his
brother.

As nature and brotherly love with godly charity require, I send you by these letters (quantum licet) most hearty commendation; being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my lord chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know, whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my lord chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourself to reform your error in the opinion of the most blessed, and our most comfortable, sacrament of the altar: wherein, I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of mass,³ and, somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the third leaf of this present book. The accus-
tomable using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, etc., or to Latimer, etc.; for that the antiquity, the universality of the open church, and the consent of all saints and doctors, do confirm the same: ascertaining you that I have been earnestly moved in mine own conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and myself, to move you to the same; most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your own conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

By yours, from Serjeants' Inn,

Ed. Saunders.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Master John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester;

BURN'T FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL AT GLOUCESTER,
FEBRUARY THE 9TH, A.D. 1555.

John Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited

(1) "Rectè tractare verbum veritatis."

(2) Justice saith, "Audi alteram partem."

(3) He meaneth peradventure when the "Sanctus" is singing; for then the organs pipe merrily and that may give some comfort.

and proceeded, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the Six Articles, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who, by and by, began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him; but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Hooper sent to the bishop of Winchester.

Winchester, after long conference with master Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to master Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon master Hooper, leaving master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows), took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Master Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of master Bullinger, being his singular friend. There also he married his wife who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

Forced to avoid the house of sir Thomas Arundel, and flieth out of England.

Friendship between Bullinger and Hooper.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his gospel, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the

Mary. uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich (as duty required), to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom master Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to master Hooper) spake on this wise :

Bullinger's words to Hooper.

"Master Hooper," said he, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it shall.

"Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you."

The answer of Hooper.

Whereunto master Hooper, answering again, first gave to master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country; if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet, neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so entirely bound unto: "and therefore you shall be sure," said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there," said he (taking master Bullinger by the hand), "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me," etc.

Hooper prophesied of himself.

A note of arms, pre-signifying his martyrdom.

To this also may be added another like prophetic demonstration, foreshowing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: When master Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him

by the herald (as the manner is, here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him), whether by the appointment of master Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted were these: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descended down upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story again. Thus when master Hooper had taken his farewell of master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, where he, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justicer, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain grudge of conscience, came to his door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere look, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands; which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and austere, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Hooper
returneth
to Eng-
land.His nota-
ble dili-
gence in
preach-
ing.See
Addenda.Singular
virtues
of Hooper
described.Direction
how
ministers
and
preachers
ought to
behave
them-
selves.

Mary. gravity in this man neither was excessive, nor did he bear that personage that was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

Hooper made bishop of Gloucester and Worcester.
See Appendix. After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and, after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

See Addenda. But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet: then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor.

A popish attire.

The King's Letters or Grant for the Dispensation of John Hooper, elected Bishop of Gloucester; written to the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Bishops.

Right reverend father in God, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well-worthy master John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation: to the intent all our loving subjects within his said charge and elsewhere might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby you think you should fall into the “*præmunire*” of our laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you should run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.
W. Wiltshire.
W. North'.

W. Paget.
An. Wingfield.
N. Wooton.

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect: that master Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.
See
Appendix.

A Letter of the Earl of Warwick to the Archbishop in the behalf of Master Hooper.

After my most hearty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your grace's favour, the rather at this my instance; which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highness, none other but that your grace may easily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster the 23d of July, 1550.

Your grace's most assured loving friend,

J. Warwick.

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God, in like manner, they, who took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

Discord
about ri-
tual gar-
ments.

Hooper
compel-
led to
preach
before the
king in
bishop-
like
apparel.

I will name nobody, partly for that his oppugners, being afterwards joined in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one, and for one cause, suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use,

The cross
maketh
peace.

Mary. according to my accustomed manner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person. Yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration: to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the cross of Christ is sometimes in the church of Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as, in a civil governance and commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war than overmuch peace: so in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness; so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the public cross of persecution.

The fall and infirmities of holy saints and martyrs, left for our consolation.

Furthermore, so I persuaded myself, the same not to be inexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For, if it do not a little appertain to our public consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissension between Paul and Barnabas; of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to hear and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?

And thus, by the way, thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours.¹ Now again, on the other part, it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward, being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by bishop Ridley to the said bishop of Gloucester. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand in Latin, hereafter followeth translated into English.

To my dear Brother and Reverend Fellow-Elder in Christ, John Hooper, Grace and Peace.

Ridley and Hooper join hands together.

My dearly beloved brother and fellow-elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or, if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past in certain bye-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force

(1) Note how discord and conciliation happen many times amongst good men.

and power, "exalting high things against the knowledge of God;" let us join hands together in Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

*Mary.**A. D.
1555.*

I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow-prisoner, and venerable father D. C.; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

*See
Appendix.*

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again: for I stand much in fear, lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners and co-captives in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. Farewell.

N. Ridley.²

Master Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under king Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them: and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men master Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or

*Hooper
bishop of
two dioceses.*

(1) 1 Cor. x.

(2) The original, in Latin, is in the First Edition, p. 1051, and will be found in the *Letters of the Martyrs*, and in *Ridley's Remains* (Parker Soc. Ed.) p. 357.—Ed.

Mary. better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

A. D.
1555.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the meantime they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

Hooper a light to all churchmen.

But now, again, we will return our talk to master Hooper, all whose life, in fine, was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them that were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

The order and governance of his house.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and, certainly, there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for everywhere he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roisting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

His care in instructing his family.

See Addenda

His hospitality.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled; yet, if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I, asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments), then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's

time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function!

After this, king Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes: first, to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in king Edward's days, deprived thereof for papistry. Secondly, to render account to Dr. Bonner bishop of London, for that he, in king Edward's time, was one of his accusers, in that he showed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's Cross. And, although the said master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get him away, and shift for himself), yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying: "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Drs. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her; and, when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and, railing and renting of him, accused him of religion. He, again, freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554, the 19th of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics: which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, who, being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

A Letter or Report of a certain godly Man, declaring the Order of Master Hooper's Deprivation from his Bishoprics, March 19, Anno 1554.

Forsomuch as a rumour is spread abroad of the talk had at my lord chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and master Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat myself, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same: partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably master Hooper was handled at their hands, who, with all humility, used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Hooper called up to London at queen Mary's coming in. Two causes why. See Appendix.

Hooper refuseth to fly.

Cometh up to London.

Charged to answer before the queen.

Com-manded to ward.

Deprived of his bishoprics

Mary. he might have been permitted to speak ; assuring all men, that whereas I stood in a hammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the king's majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the queen's majesty ; their unreverend behaviour towards master Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they, with railing and cruel words, defended ; considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myself—so I appeal to all the hearers' consciences, that there were present (so they put affection away), for the witness to the same.

MASTER HOOPER EXAMINED BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS.

The bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.¹—At master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

See Appendix. *Hooper* :—"Yea, my lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me."

Durham :—"That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper :—"That it is not, my lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space ; but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called master Hooper "hypocrite," with vehement words, and scornful countenance.² Bishop Tonsal called him "beast : " so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would ; and brought in this text,³ "There be, that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven."⁴

Master Hooper said ; that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given : and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

Priests' marriage not forbid by the old canons.

Then master Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests ; and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants : but bishop Hooper said, that book was not it, which he named. Then cried out the bishop of Winchester, and said, "You shall not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done, or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterward judge Morgan⁵ began to rail at master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men ; and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said, that the council of Ancyra,⁶ which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

(1) See the Harleian MSS. No. 421, art. 18, 26.—Ed.

(2) "Blessed be you, when they shall speak all reviling words against you for my name's sake." (3) "Castraverunt se propter regnum celorum." (4) Matt. xix.

(5) This Morgan, shortly after, fell into a frenzy and madness, and died of the same.

(6) This assertion appears to be incorrect, as the canon alluded to (the tenth) only mentions deacons, to whom marriage was, generally, allowed. Apud Labbe, tom. i. col. 1459.—Ed.

Then cried out my lord chancellor, and many with him, that master Hooper had never read the councils. *Mary.*

"Yea, my lord," quoth master Hooper, "and my lord of Chichester (Dr. Day) knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius,¹ decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not seen. A. D.
1555.

After this long brutish talk, Tonsal bishop of Durham asked master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing. The council
of Nice.

Then would the bishop of Durham have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was, I cannot tell); but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of master Hooper, what authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word; and alleged this text:² "Whom heaven must hold until the latter day." The corporal
presence.

Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text have served nothing for his purpose; and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that master Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married; and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric. Articles
taken
against
Hooper.

*See
Appendix.*

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them; and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time.—Atque hæc ille hactenus.

The true Report of Master Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own Hand, the 7th of January, 1555.

The 1st of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and, within six days after, I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the Tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good gentlewoman,³ I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding while I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people people. Babington
warden
of the
Fleet, a
wicked
tyrant to
God's
people.

(1) The words of Paphnutius appear in Gelassii Hist. Con. Niceni, lib. II. cap. 32. Apud Labbe, tom. II. col. 246.—Ed.

(2) "Quem oportet cælum accipere, usque ad tempus restaurationis omnium."

(3) This good gentlewoman is thought to be mistress Wilkinson.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Barba-
rous cru-
elty of the
warden of
the Fleet.

sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of *all* the house, and on the other side the town-ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone; it were a good riddance of him." And, amongst many other times, he did thus the 18th of October, 1553; as many can witness.

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall-commons.

W. Down-
ton,
Hooper's
man.
*See
Appendix.*

The said warden hath also imprisoned my man William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

Hooper
eighteen
months
in prison.
Queen
Mary in-
debted to
him.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account four score pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy (saving God's help), but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himself, of this matter.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

Gardiner
exhorteth
Hooper
to return
to the
pope's
church.

The 22d of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring master Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's, where in effect thus much was done. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of king Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

The pope
not wor-
thy to be
a mem-
ber of
Christ's
church.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

The 28th of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till master Rogers (who was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church.¹ So master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of church door, master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea sir," said master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, who rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

Hooper's words to master Rogers.

By the way the sheriff said to master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master sheriff, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them, that night.

Hooper earnest in his Master's cause.

THE THIRD AND LAST EXAMINATION OF MASTER HOOPER.

Upon the next day following, the 29th of January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willing to carry them to

See Appendix.

Hooper condemned.

(1) The judicial acts of the proceedings against Hooper are given at length by Strype (Memorials under Mary, chap. xxii. p. 296, Edit. 1816), from the Foxian MSS.—Ed.

Mary. the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

A. D.
1555.

Darkness
best for
the
papists.

The peo-
ple rejoice
at the
constancy
of Hooper
and
Rogers.

Hooper
sent to
Newgate.

Bonner
and his
chaplains
reason
with
Hooper in
prison.

False rum-
ours of
his recan-
tation.
*See
Appendix.*

When it was dark, master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London-bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets : either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison ; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him ; praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him : and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should be appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, etc., resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted : for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures, and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities ; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail : but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad), to bring him and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to master Hooper's ears : wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground ; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth.

A Letter of Master Hooper, for the stopping of certain false Rumours spread abroad of his Recantation.

' The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more; yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad (as I am credibly informed), that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come; not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point, for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Occasion
of this
rumour

Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

False re-
ports a
grievous
cross

I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

Forth of Newgate the 2d of February, anno 1555.

Your brother in Christ,

John Hooper.

Upon Monday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded master Hooper; the sentence of which his degradation here followeth.

See
Appendix.

Degradatio Hooperi.¹

In nomine + Patria, + Filii, + et Spiritus Sancti, Amen. Quoniam per sententiam definitivam à reverendo in Christo patre et domino Stephano, permissione divina Wintoniensi episcopo, in et contra te Johannem Hooper presbyterum, sæ jurisdictionis, (ratione hæresis et delicti intra illius diocesis Wintoniensem notoriè commissi) existentem, nuper ritè et legitimè prolatam, constat sufficienter et legitimè nobis Edmundo Londoniensi episcopo, te præfatum Johannem Hooper hæreticum manifestum et obstinatum ac pertinacem fuisse et esse, ac constat similiter tanquam hæreticum hujusmodi per dictam sententiam pronunciatum et declaratum fuisse, majorisque excommunicationis sententia ob id innodatum et involutum similiter esse, ac ab ordine tuo deponendum et degradandum, curæque seculari ob demerita tua hujusmodi tradendum fore, prout ex tenore dictæ sententiæ, ad quam nos in hac parte nos referimus, plenius, planius, et expressius liquet et apparet: idcirco nos Edmundus episcopus Londoniensis antedictus—quia nostri et universitatis etiam interest nostras hic partes interponere, et vicariam operam mutuamque vicissitudinem impendere, in cujus etiam diocesi tu, Johannes Hooper, idem hæresis crimen tunc et sæpius, et ante et post commisisti—istis (inquam) et aliis prædictis attentis, et exequendo omni meliori et efficaciori modo, quo possumus, sententiam prædictam, sic (ut præmittitur) latam in te qui infra fines et limites

(1) See the Harl. MSS. No. 421, art. 49.—Ed.

Mary. diocesis nostræ Londoniensis notoriè consistis, et in hac parte culpabilis et transgressor etiam notoriè existis, ad actualem degradationem tui præfati Johannis Hooper (culpa tua exigente ac justitia id poscente) duximus procedendum fore, ac sic etiam realiter procedimus; ut deinde, juxta juris exigentiam et temporis retroacti morem laudabilem et normam consuetam, te in arca ecclesiæ manere nolentem curiæ seculari ritè et legitime ac effectualiter tradere possimus. Quod ipsum sic fieri debere, nos per hanc nostram sententiam sive decretum decernimus, pronunciamus, et declaramus in his scriptis.

See Address.

After the sentence of disgradation thus declared, now let us see the form and manner of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

See Appendix.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE FORM AND MANNER USED IN THE DEGRADING OF BISHOP HOOPER.

Alexander, the gaoler of Newgate, a cruel enemy to God's people.

The 4th day of February, the year above mentioned, in the chapel in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew the gaoler, bringing with him master Hooper and master Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request of the foresaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, master Hooper and master Rogers, after this form and manner: first, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they, being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off, first the uttermost vesture; and so, by degree and order, coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and so, being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, master Davy Woodrooffe, and master William Chester; who, receiving first the said master Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present were master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Robert Cosin, and Robert Willanton, canons of Paul's; Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks; Tristram Swadock, and Richard Cloney, the sumner, etc.

Hooper and Rogers degraded.

Davy Woodrooffe and William Chester, sheriffs.

Hooper glad that he should suffer amongst his own flock.

The same Monday at night, being the 4th of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and other their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the lord Chandos, master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

*Marr.*A. D.
1555.Carried to
Gloucester to be
burned.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

A woman
of Ciren-
cester
confirmed
by the
constancy
of Hooper,
which
railed at
him be-
fore.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, etc.; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay), that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Hooper
cometh to
Gloucester.The quiet
mind of
Hooper
in his
troubles.

Amongst others that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said master Kingston, "Why, my lord, do you not know me an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

Sir An-
thony
Kingston
cometh to
Hooper.

Hooper :—"Yes, master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same."

Mary. *Kingston*.—"But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

Life compared with life, and death with death.

Sir Anthony Kingston converted by Hooper.

Hooper.—"Indeed it is true, master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

Kingston.—"Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God by your ministry hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

Hooper.—"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have; and that you may continually live in his fear."

After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; master Kingston with bitter tears, master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

A blind boy cometh to Hooper. See Appendix.

God's grace upon a blind boy at Gloucester.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul!"

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, who appeared to be sorry for master Hooper's trouble, saying, "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sorry?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry." "Be sorry for thyself, man," said master Hooper, "and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to master Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner: "Master mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, master sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (meaning the guard), "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them), that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the meantime I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

These and such-like words in effect used master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison.

So it was determined, at length, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and the sergeants, and other officers, did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Hooper committed to the sheriffs of Gloucester. The words of Hooper to the mayor and the sheriffs.

Hooper's petition to the sheriffs.

The guard speak for Hooper.

He spendeth his last night in prayer.

Mary. About eight o'clock came sir John Bridges, lord Chandos, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, glaves and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise: "Master sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterward, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand (for it was market-day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death), he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine; and that, out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

See Appendix.

Hooper for preaching true doctrine put to death.

Forbidden to speak to the people. His cheerful going to death.

Hooper brought to the place of martyrdom.

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddish a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the tree were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood *the wolvisch blood-suckers and tunelings,* the priests of the college.

Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come; who (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom) gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Master Hooper said, "Good my

Hooper refuseth the queen's pardon.

lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers.” *Mary.*

Then said my lord Chandos to sir Edmond Bridges, his son, which gave ear before to master Hooper's prayer at his request, “Edmond, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly dispatch him.” Whiles this talk was, there stepped one or two in uncalled, which heard him speak these words following:

A. D.
1555.

Master Hooper's Prayer.

Lord (said he) I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven, receive me, hell, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might (being thereto called), I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee: therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory.

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and peticoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains), he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, “Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves; for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good.”

See
Appendix.

Hooper
undress-
eth him-
self to the
fire.

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short (for his belly was swollen by imprisonment), he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and

Bound to
the stake.

Mary. would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

A. D.

1555.

The weeping of the people at his burning.

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen (for he was both tall, and stood also on a high stool), and beheld round about him : and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "O sir !" said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein," said master Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me ; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

He forgiveth his executioner.

See Appendix.

Fire put to Hooper.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place (it was a lowering and cold morning), it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner nothing but touched by the fire.

A new fire made.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots (for there were no more reeds), and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and swell his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pains), "O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul !" After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire !" And all this while his nether parts did burn : for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

He call-eth for more fire.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two : and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me ; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me : Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums : and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

His last words.

The blessed martyr long tormented in the fire.

In clarissimi Doctrina et Pietate Viri Johannis Hoperi Martyrium,
Conradi Gesneri carmen.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Aureus Hoperus flammis invictus et igni,
Atque suum Christum confessus ad ultima vitæ
Momenta, integritate sua præclarus, et ardens
Exterius flammis, divinus martyr at intus
Eximio fidei fervore accensus, ad astra
Spiritus ascendit, cœlesti luce beatus.
In terris cineresque manent, et fama corusca,
Flammæ instar lucens, lucebit dum stabit orbis,
Utcunque immanes boreæ, magnæque procellæ
Flatibus adversis tam clarum abrumperè lumen
Nitantur frustra. Nam, quæ Deus ipse secundat,
Quis prohibere queat? mortalia facta sed ultro
Et commenta ruunt, vastaque voragine sidunt.
Hoperi exemplo, quotquot spiratis Jesu
Doctrinam Christi, discrimina temnere vitæ,
Durare, et vosmet rebus servare secundis
Discite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora; nec auris
Audiit ulla, oculus vel vidit, sed neque captus
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier unquam,
Qualia, quanta Deus servet sua bona beatis.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side: but, having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth, I doubt not, as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven, prepared for the faithful in Christ before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

The patient end of this holy martyr.

A Letter which Master Hooper did write out of Prison, to certain of his Friends.

The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth; intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial, who be his.

The pope's religion standeth only by force and extremity.

Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power, of his holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them, draweth from God.

Neither the felicity nor the misery of this world to be looked upon.

Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good: but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good, abiding and tarrying still among our friends here: but yet so, that we tarry not

Mory. therewithal in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept; so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

A. D.
1555.

Adversity compared with adversity.

Antithesis between joys and pains in this world and in the world to come.

Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful, but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lack. I must be alone and solitary: it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great: but loss of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, and wise men: it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is blessed that loseth this life full of mortal miseries, and findeth the life full of eternal joys. It is a pain and grief to depart from goods and friends: but yet not so much, as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

Hooper's care and commendation of his wife.

I can do no more, but pray for you: do the same for me, for God's sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will, by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D***. As it was told me she never had letter from me since the coming of Master S*** unto her; the more to blame the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things: but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her, and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept; never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well.

The 21st of January, 1555.

Your bounden,

John Hooper.

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of master Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment: the story whereof here followeth.

Talk between Hooper and a friar in the prison. If the material body of Christ be broken in the sacrament, then is the commandment of God's word broken.

A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England: thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that master Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison. He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy: which, when the other had denied, "What sayest thou," quoth he, "to 'Hoc est corpus meum?'" Master Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this: What remained after the consecration in the sacrament—any bread, or no? "No bread at all," saith he. "And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread or the body?" said master Hooper. "No bread," said the friar, "but the body only." "If ye do so," said master Hooper, "ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, 'Ye shall not break of him one bone,'" etc. With that the friar, having nothing belike to answer, suddenly recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against master Hooper, as though, etc

This and more wrote master Hooper to mistress Wilkinson, in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.¹

¹) "John Kelke who is yet alive." See Edition 1570.—Ed.

COMPARISON BETWEEN HOOPER AND POLYCARP.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

When I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days in their sufferings, so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are ministered unto them of princes for God's cause ; methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old martyrs of the primitive church : in the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr, with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius' maketh mention in the ecclesiastical story ? For as both agreed together in one kind of punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them showed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said. And though Polycarp, being set in the flame (as the story saith), was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so despatched : yet Hooper, by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarp, in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words :² " Let me alone I pray you ; for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake, requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one ; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet, no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, alike diligent both ; in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable : bishops and also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together—*Πολύκαρπος* ; to wit, much fruitful ; to which name also *δπωρος* is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of master Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think, in Polycarp's time, was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of master Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to

Hooper compared to Polycarp in life.

The cruel handling of Hooper.

The enemies of Hooper and of Polycarp compared together.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15. Of the Polycarp read before, [vol. I.—Ed.]

(2) "Sinite me ; qui namque ignem ferre posse dedit, dabit etiam ut sine vestra clavorum cautione immotus in rogo permaneam."

*Mary.**A. D.
1555.*

him a quick despatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment; whereas the tormentors of master Hooper suffered him, without all compassion, to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul was there to be conferred with the chancellor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this suffice.

Books
and
treatises
written by
Hooper.

This good bishop and servant of God, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.¹

HERE FOLLOW CERTAIN OF MASTER HOOPER'S LETTERS.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, who, by true mortification, seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters, you shall better feel and understand.²

A Letter of Master Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful Alteration and Change of Religion.

The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy gospel. Amen.

It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen, before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant king Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should, from this mortality, be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, "If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are

The fa-
vourers of
God's
word se-
cluded
out of the
parlia-
ment,
against
all right
and rea-
son.

(1) In the Latin Edition of the Acts and Monuments (Basil. 1559) some of the writings here referred to are extant; they are introduced by a short exhortation to the christian reader, by John Foxe, at p. 298. Then follows "Joannis Hoperi Appellatio ad Parlamentum: ex carcere. Anno 1554, Mens. August 27." At p. 306 is a letter, "Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et cæteris cleri ordinibus in Synodo Londinensi congregatis," etc. At p. 309, follows "Joannis Hoperi de sacratissimæ cænæ Domini verâ doctrinâ, et legitimo usu, contra Neotericos; ad excelsam Parliamentum curiam Anglicanam, illustre cum primis ac divinum monumentum, e carcere conscriptum." This treatise contains a preface and three chapters, and occupies from p. 309 to 392, of the Latin Edition of Foxe's Ecclesiastical History; nor does it appear that it ever was reprinted. This is followed, at p. 392, by a hortatory letter of John Foxe, "Ad Neotericos;" then follows, "Contra Transubstantiationem rationes deductæ ex Joanne Hopero, atque in certas leges et modos artis Dialecticæ digestæ ac comprehensæ; per J. F."—Ed.

(2) More of his letters ye shall read in the book of "Letters of the Martyrs."

above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God;"¹ we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ; and there to talk and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another: so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may have some learned man, that can, out of the Scriptures, speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God; also that can show you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive, by the life of our forefathers, these two things; the one, that Christ's words, which said that all his must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble—then shall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, "In the world, ye shall suffer persecution."² And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, "Ye be no better than your forefathers;" but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy soldiers for this war. And pray God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings to these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, "Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth?"³ He said not, "Think ye, he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian?" But he spake of the faith that saveth the christian man in Christ. And doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a pale horse, "and he that sat upon him was called Death, and hell followed him." This horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others, that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, who killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse which is hell.

These pretended and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church; and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven: that is to say, have darkened with mists, and daily do darken (as ye hear by their sermons), the clear sun of God's most pure word. The moon,

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

He exhorteth the brethren to resort and confer among themselves to gether.

Confer ence among brethren comfortable.

Three things to be taken heed to.

Faith more scarce now than in the old time under tyrants.

The pale horse in the Apoclypsee. More souls slain by monks and friars, than bodies by tyrants.

The sixth chapter of the Apoclypsee opened.

(1) Colos. iii.

(2) John x

(3) Luke xviii.

*Mary.**A.D.**1555.*

which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, christian people, fall from heaven, that is to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man show you all the articles of your belief and monument of christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

Out of the Fleet, by your brother in Christ,
John Hooper.

To Master Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot, Prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark.

Commis-
sion given
out for
Hooper
and other
to dispute
at Cam-
bridge.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth, as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth: the next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it: the third, to show you what ways I think ourselves were best to use in this matter, and also to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst for our blood; and whether we, by God's help, overcome after the word of God, or by force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion: our adversaries will say, they overcome; and ye perceive how they report of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxford.

The coun-
sel of
Hooper,
how and
upon
what cau-
tions to
dispute
with the
adversa-
ries.

Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the doctors against the whole course of the doctors' mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was; and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more, will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us; I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not; although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible, with St. Stephen, to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow; for shortly we shall begone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament, as they were used in king Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books; and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adver-

saries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us (as far as I know), and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to Dr. Weston. To whom Weston made this answer, "It forceth not," quoth he, "for a law: we have commission to proceed with them. When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

Now, how soon a man may have such a commission at my lord chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiaphas's hand. Besides that the bishops, having the queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the lords of the temporality; who, at this present, have found out the mark that the bishop shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer betime. "Judas sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour."¹ "The Lord Jesus Christ with his holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen us all. Amen."²

May 6, anno 1554.

Yours, and with you unto death, in Christ,

John Hooper.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The papists proceeded against all order and law.

An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife Anne Hooper; whereby all the true Members of Christ may take Comfort and Courage to suffer Trouble and Affliction for the Profession of his holy Gospel.

Our Saviour Jesus Christ—dearly beloved, and my godly wife—in St. Matthew's gospel said to his disciples, "That it was necessary scandals should come:"³ and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should he saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should condemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be showed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works; and will not try them by the word of God at all. These men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the devil,⁴ that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost; as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts,⁵ to do one mischief after another; careless, until they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone; because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of God's honour: so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution for Christ's members for God's service and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God, even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to, any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts,⁶ that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word: even so can they not abide any other man, to be a christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God; but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether it be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they

Error taken for truth, and persecution for God's service.

(1) "Judas non dormit; nec scimus diem neque horam."

(2) "Dominus Jesus Christus suo sancto numine nos omnes consoletur et adjuvet. Amen."

(3) Matt. xviii.

(4) Matt. xxiv.

(5) Rom. i. 24. 1 Thes. ii.

(6) John viii. 9

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

No respect of nature with the persecuting adversaries.

Patience in troubles, the christian man's only remedy.

Prayer necessary.

A lesson how to bear trouble.

pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended; yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

In their Pharaonical and blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel: for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, "It is expedient and necessary, that scandals should come;"¹ and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father: but Christ saith, "Woe be unto him, by whom the offence cometh." Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end: "For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now."² Therefore, forsomuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment: "Ye shall possess your lives in patience,"³ saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for, in troubles. And, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor sedulously to resist our persecutors:⁴ because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Wherefore let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them the heavenly Father must be prayed unto for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body.⁵ When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's precious blood; and so, for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys, condemn all things present—doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world: "If ye be risen again with Christ," saith he, "seek the things which are above; where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father."⁶ Wherefore, the christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people: the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up; their wounds healed; their

(1) Matt. xviii.

(4) Rom. viii.

(2) Gen. xxi. Gal. iv.

(5) James i. 1 Cor. viii. 1.

(3) Luke xxi.

(6) Coloss. iii.

bodies made immortal in joy; their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, "to think or set our affections on things that are above." When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand, the vanities of this world; the shortness and misery of this life, and the treasures of the world to come; the immortality thereof, the joys of that life; and so never cease seeking, until such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it. And in seeking, to have right judgment between the life present and the life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slanders, lies, and death itself is, in this world, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of God's just judgment, and everlasting death.

When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present; as you may see how, daily, men and women can praise and commend, yea and wish for, heaven, and to be at rest there, yet they set not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgment saith is better than all worldly things. "Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above; that is to say, when any thing, worse than heaven, upon the earth, offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see, by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place, "Set your affections on things that are above." If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that as our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present: so we should choose them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done; for they choose the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

But these things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer; than words or talk. They be easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be, by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples,¹ when he showed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life, full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment), use the seventy-seventh Psalm that beginneth, "I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me:" in which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

Use also in such trouble the eighty-eighth Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him, yet he by prayer, humbly resorted unto God, as the only port of consolation, and, in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himself can

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Two things commanded by Paul, writing to the Colossians.

How things of this world may be possessed, and how not

Scriptures would be mused upon, rather than talked upon.

(1) Matt. xxiv. Luke xxi.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.What
Psalms
are to be
used in
distress
and tri-
bulation.Note this
well to
thy com-
fort that
art afflict-
ed.Consola-
tion.

Patience.

Afflic-
tions be
the mes-
sengers
and ser-
vants of
God.Patience
the gift
of God
only.To suffer
for Christ
is honour-
able.

do this; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear—prayeth for the man stricken and feared,¹ with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel yourself, or know any other, oppressed after such sort, be glad; for, after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourself, he will doubtless show you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; and use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be sought unto for his gifts. These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any joy, of God's promises: and therefore were the sixth, twenty-second, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Psalms also made, from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation.² Remember, that although your life (as all Christian men's be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory. But, in the mean time, with seeking and setting our affections upon the things that be above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune that some would say, "Who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and feel nothing; be tempted of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and be not troubled?" Verily no man living. But this I say, that, in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly; and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as christian men. We may be tempted of the devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although those things pinch, they do not pierce, and, although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the christian man learn both consolation and patience:³ consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loss; and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God to go and come, as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor seditiously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God. Remember Christ's saying, "Possess you your lives by your patience."⁴ And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this world; but Christ saith to every one of his people, "By your own patience, ye shall continue your life:" not that man hath patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now, therefore, as our profession and religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own creatures, as him listeth.

We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just—and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world; and have a singular care to this commandment, "Gaudete et exultate," "Be glad and rejoice;" for he sheweth great cause why: "Your reward," saith he, "is great in heaven."⁵ These promises of him that is the truth itself shall, by God's grace, work both consolation and patience in the afflicted christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God, in the end of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, "Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you."⁶ We may also see with whom the afflicted for Christ's sake be esteemed, by St. Paul to the Hebrews,⁷

(1) Rom. viii.
(4) Luke xxi.(2) Read also Eccles. iv. and Colos. iii.
(5) Matt. vii.

(6) Matt. v.

(3) Rom. viii.
(7) Heb. xi.

whereas the number of the blessed and glorious company of saints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy : yet, in the letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them, and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the world had thought verily, that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away? as the wise man saith of the wicked people, "We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace."¹

We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all-to-hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loathe and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the flesh of God's people in, till they achieve their perfection in the world to come? And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digested, and not before : so must he look for his salvation when he hath passed this troublous world, and not before. Raw flesh is not meat wholesome for man. and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ saith, that his people must be broken and all to-torn in the mill of this world; and so shall they be most fine meal unto the heavenly Father.² And it shall be a christian man's part, and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things; how he dealeth with them, and how they suffer, and be content to let God do his will upon them, as St. Paul saith : "They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when God's people shall appear in glory."³

We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) "lord over his brethren." When Christ would make the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes,⁴ which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him doubly blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And as touching this world, he useth all his after the same sort.⁵ If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth; so that he sheweth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that be sorrowful : yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul saith,⁶ life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come; which is more worth unto him, than all the world is worth besides : and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record, that he is the Son of God,⁷ whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew :⁸ of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Example taken of our meat and drink, how things never come to their perfection before they be utterly wasted.

Unmortified men be no people for God.

Example of Abraham.

Example of Joseph.

Judgment first beginneth with the house of God.

(1) Wisd. v.
(5) 1 Pet. iv.

(2) Matt. x.
(6) Coloss. iii.

(3) Rom. viii.
(7) Rom. viii.

(4) John ix.
(8) Matt. xxiv.

Mary. learn much patience. Were there ever such troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? *A. D.* Who was then best at ease? The apostles that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, "Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand,"¹ that is to say, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so be the people of the world. For when God saith, "Trouble shall come," they will have ease. And when God saith, "Be merry and rejoice in trouble," we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-a-ways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent: but, at the latter day, there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked), of eternal life and eternal death upon all men; and yet, towards the end of the world, we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death); now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.

October 13, A. D. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her Widowhood.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel. Amen.

I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance; and, although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God; and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, "It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord;"² that is to say, to such an one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure (as now I have none at all), further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord! Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

Yours assured in Christ,

John Hooper.

To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to show this kindness towards me; praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you pre-

(1) Luke xxi.

(2) 1 Cor. vii.

serve my body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God; and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet, if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and license of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet, when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

Dearlly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preserved contrary unto God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom: for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can by no means be taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serve: for he that so doth, shall have as many changes as chance in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man (I say), not after the manner of men, but after the infallible word of God.

Refrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world, in external service, the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth.¹ For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with an unchaste or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry: for the mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every christian man, as St. Paul saith.

Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be miscontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

But, alas! I know by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh of the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The christian charity of Hooper to his enemies.

Hooper fully resolved to suffer.

God's will to be obeyed in all things.

Difference between the true Christian and the worldling.

Both inward man and outward man must concur in the honour of God.

(1) 1 Cor. vi.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

God's
enemies
can do no
more
than he
giveth
them
leave.

as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth.¹ But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies.

September 2d, anno 1554.

Yours, with my poor prayer,

John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whose means he had received much
Comfort in his great Necessity in the Fleet.

Truth is
not to be
esteemed
by out-
ward ap-
pearance.

Grace, mercy, and peace, in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falsehood cruelly seeketh to distain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected, than falsehood. Leave the outward show, and see, by the word of God, what truth is; and accept truth, and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth have smarted, and the friends of falsehood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success; the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falsehood by God; flourishing for a time, with endless destruction; the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woeful and wretched days, what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain truth; and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray; and in Christ daily require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickedness of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good men, your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you.

December 3d, anno 1554.

Yours, with my prayer,

John Hooper.

To Mistress Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in God's Cause, and comfortable to his afflicted Members; afterwards dying in Exile at Frankfurt.

The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit, be with you. Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in suffering of transitory pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed,

(1) Matt. xx.

rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses¹ found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake :² for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Gains,
with
God's dis-
pleasure,
is beg-
gary.

To my dear Friends in God, Master John Hall and his Wife,
exhorting them to stand fast in the Truth.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to show unto you such favour, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourselves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable world to the bliss everlasting, where now they remain for ever; looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys :³ and, as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the world to consent unto wickedness and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, seeing God, of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apostles and evangelists, and all martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own fault ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, nor Antichrist with all his imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women.

Consola-
tion taken
by the ex-
ample of
ancient
martyrs.

December-22d, anno 1554.

Your brother in Christ,

John Hooper.

To my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop.

The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not yourself too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hinderance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving sister, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this lesson with you, practised by wise men; whereof you may read in the second of St. Matthew's gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the star; and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem (whereas the star led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem) and there asked the citizens the thing that the star showed before: as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but also lost the sight of the star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the

The su-
rest
is ever to
follow the
star.

(1) Heb. xi.

(2) Matt. v.

(3) Heb. xi.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Jerusalem signifieth the vision of peace: Bethlehem, the house of bread or of satiety.

Christ is not to be sought nor asked for, but only by the Scriptures.

Example of Jason and Phaeton.

Lest in the way to the kingdom of heaven.

star of God's word, that only is the mark that sheweth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these wise men: so doth the synagogue of Antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amongst the people now is called the catholic church, stand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethlehem, the house of satiety and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all christian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the star of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial star was hid from the wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these wise men, whilst they were learning of liars, where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide and conductor, the heavenly star. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say); and let us go thitherward by the star of his word. Beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose also our conductor and guide, that only leadeth us straight thither.

The poets write in fables, that Jason, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preserved by the medicines of Medea, and so won the golden fleece. And they write also that Phaeton, whom they feign to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the sun round about the world; but, as they feigned, he missed of the accustomed course: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven; and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. These profane histories do shame us that be christian men. Jason, against the poison of the dragon, used only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a christian man, against the poison of the devil, heresy and sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his word! Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every sign of the zodiac, that the sun passeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

Sister, take heed! you shall, in your journey towards heaven, meet with many a monstrous beast: have salve of God's word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers and friends, that shall, if God be not with them (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike), be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the sentence of the catholic church, with such like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the star of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal salvation, by the merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

Yours in Christ,

John Hooper.

Unto these letters of master Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain epistle, not of master Hooper's, but written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendent in the city of Zurich: of whose singular love and tender affection toward master Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of master Hooper's life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present letter, as followeth.

A Letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend Father, Master ^{Mary.} John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now ^{A.D.} Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my Fellow-Elder and ^{1555.} most dear Brother in England.¹

The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those who are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I, doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libels rather than letters; whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass; especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel,² "His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will." You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, chap. x., by John in chap. xv. and xvi., and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written, in 2 Tim. iii. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not looked for, nor come by chance; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, those worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples: but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly: but if Antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ, or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him,³ except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these disputations with you who are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: "He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my Son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death."⁴ The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome, by his power, the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For

(1) Translated out of Latin into English

(2) Ephes. i. 2 Thess ii

(3) Dan. viii.

(4) Rev. xxi.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.God's
wrath
upon the
beast, and
them that
take his
mark.

so again saith the angel of the Lord: "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath: and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore; and they shall have no rest, day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name."¹ Here is the patience of saints;² here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he addeth by and by, "I heard a voice saying to me, 'Write, Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed: even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.'"

Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, are your fellow-soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow-prisoners, faith and constancy! Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow-ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

Concerning the state of our church, it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord!

The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean while the godly sustain grievous persecutions, and, with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen; students, both godly and learned. They be received of our magistrate. Ten of them dwell together; the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, master Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment; whereof I will write also to your wife, for I understand she abideth at Frankfort.

Thomas
Lever.

Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

The 10th of October, anno 1554. From Zurich,

You know the hand, H. B.

The History of Dr. Rowland Taylor,

WHO SUFFERED FOR THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD, UNDER THE
TYRANNY OF THE ROMAN BISHOPS, THE 9TH DAY OF
FEBRUARY, A.D. 1554⁴.

Hadley
com-
mended.

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of master Thomas Bilney: by

(1) Rev. xiv.

(2) In this time of Antichrist is the patience and faith of God's children tried, whereby they shall overcome all his tyranny. Read Matt. xxiv.

(3) John v.

(4) See the Harleian MSS. No. 421, art. 21.—Ed.

whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St. Paul's epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people; and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

In this town was Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of benefited men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his parsonal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying: "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep."¹ This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Taylor,
doctor in
both laws,
and a di-
vine.A good
shepherd
and his
condi-
tions.Feed with
word.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

Feed with
example.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

Feed with
alms.Commenda-
tion of
Taylor's
wife and
children.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men;

(1) John xx.

Mary. a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

A. D.
1555.

The papists and their nature.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, *to live with Christ, and reign in everlasting joy and felicity,* the papists, who ever simuled and dissimuled, both with king Henry the Eighth and king Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and, contrary to that they had all these two kings' days preached, taught, written and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

Foster a lawyer, and John Clerk of Hadley, two notorious papists.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Averth, a right popish priest.

Therefore the foressaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money Marchant, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open advouterer and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down:¹ wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

Taylor's custom to study.

Mass brought into Hadley, with a sword and buckler.

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming into the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven

(1) Mark how unwilling the people were to receive the papacy again

crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Mary.

*A. D.
1555.*

Taylor rebuketh the devil.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that starte up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and perturb the queen's proceedings?"¹ Dr. Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."²

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitourlye heretic! make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further, thou dost against the canon law, which commandeth, that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then starte up John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a 'super-altare,'³ go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, "The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear," etc.

The papists' arguments, where-with they maintain their doctrine. Wisdom ii. 11.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before

Taylor cited.

(1) The papists call all their trumpery, the queen's proceedings. For you must remember that Antichrist reigneth by another arm and not by his own power. Read Daniel, of the king of faces, the eighth chapter.

(2) Dr. Taylor there playeth a right Elias.

(3) "Super-altare" is a stone consecrated by the bishops, commonly of a foot long, which the papists carry instead of an altar, when they mass for money in gentlemen's houses. [Bingham mentions other names given to this; book viii. chap 6, § 21. - Ed.]

See Appendix

Mary. him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

A. D. When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding
1555. sorry and grieved in mind; which then foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and flee, alleging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

His friends would have him to fly.

His valiant courage in Christ's cause

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death: yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doings."

Then said his friends, "Master doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldam, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should flee into another:¹ we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers, and godly pastors."

He refused to fly.

"Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

The papacy a kingdom of lies.
 See Appendix.

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood; so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed, and St. Nicholas', unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies.

"Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to

(1) Matt. x

go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who, after sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

John Alcock of Hadley troubled for God's truth, and died in prison.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

Taylor's journey. John Hull his faithful servant.

But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto; but said, "O John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me; and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

Taylor again advised to fly, but refused.

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which three be these.

The first meeting between Winchester and Taylor. A great abuse in England, and three mischiefs coming thereof.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puffed up many bishops, and other spiritual persons, into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they, by this means, knew the very secrets of princes, they, being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

THE EXAMINATION OF DR. TAYLOR.

Now, when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, all to reviled him,¹ calling him knave, traitor, heretic,

(1) The Dictionary of Archæic and Provincial Words by Boucher (Lond. 1833) furnishes abundance of dissertation upon this idiom.—Ed.

Mary. with many other villanous reproaches; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him: "My lord," quoth he, A. D. 1555. "I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful christian man; and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me."

Taylor's
patience
and mag-
nanimity.

Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

Gardi-
ner's
lordly
looks.

"Yes," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I know who you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed king Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed king Edward the Sixth his son?"

Notable
answer of
Taylor
to Win-
chester.

Herod's
oath.
*See
Appendix.*

The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath: unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldest do."

The true
church of
Christ,
where-
unto all
men
ought to
turn.

Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his, return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Christ
will re-
quire
lawful
oaths and
promises.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the pope nor any of his."

Gardiner
again
railing.

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

Railing
words be-
come not
a magis-
trate.

"My lord," quoth Dr. Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a christian man, and you know, that 'he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'²

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written. 'The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.'³ And again,

(1) Here the bishop confesseth unlawful oaths ought not to be kept.

(2) Matt. v.

(3) "Os quod mentitur, occidit animum." [Sapient. i. 11.]

Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.'¹ And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Marriage objected to Taylor. Marriage defended.

"Thou art married?" quoth the bishop. "Yea," quoth Dr. Taylor, "that I thank God I am; and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

One idolater holdeth with another.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put off his cap): and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true christian man ought to do; and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us."

The mass.

The communion.

The true sacrifice for the quick and dead.

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop; "it is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice: and therefore I say with Chrysostome, and all the doctors, "Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion; a sacrifice of thanksgiving;" and therefore the fathers called it "eucharistia:" and other sacrifice hath the church of God none.

Propitiatory sacrifice offered but once. Our sacrifice is only commemorative.

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called 'eucharistia,' 'a thanksgiving,' because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept."

Winchester's strong argument, "Carry him to prison!"

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: and God be praised for good king

Taylor's prayer against the pope's detestable enormities.

(1) "Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium."

*Mary.**A. D.**1555.*

Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his ; thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Godly behaviour
of Taylor
in prison.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Prisons
turned
into
churches,
and
churches
into
dens of
thieves.

*See
Appendix.*

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right christian schools and churches ; so that there was no greater comfort for christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and comfortings.

Lament-
able dis-
tress of
God's
true wor-
shippers
in those
days.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies ; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in king Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in king Ahab's days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sette into prison ; there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

Bradford
and Tay-
lor prison-
fellows in
the King's
Bench.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, master Bradford ; which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time ; as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Master Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow. And so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other ; insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

DR. TAYLOR BROUGHT FORTH TO BE DEPRIVED.

Taylor
defendeth
marriage
of priests.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches, at Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him ; where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming, by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound, on pain of damnation, to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no

sentence of divorce against him ; but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married. *Mary.*

"You do me wrong then," quoth Dr. Taylor ; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself. But all prevailed not ; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one master Newealle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved. A. D.
1555.
Deprived of his benefice, because of his marriage.

DR. TAYLOR BROUGHT AGAIN BEFORE WINCHESTER AND OTHER BISHOPS.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time, the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by king Henry the Eighth and by king Edward, to be again revived by parliament : so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they lusted ; and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them : when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the 22d of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself, in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth. *The papists rule, and reign.*

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the Talk had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, the 22d of January.

Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, 22d of January, so far as I remember : first, my lord chancellor said, "You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm ; from the which (God be praised !) we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerits." To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive : for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ, to Antichrist. "For I do believe, that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was according to the vein of the holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace." *The pardon is proffered.*

Then master secretary Bourn said, "Which of the religions mean ye of, in king Edward's days ? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that ?" I answered, "My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making ; yet he set it forth in his own name : and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly), The Whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm : which book was never reformed but once ; and yet, by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to *The religion set forth in king Edward's days.*
Secretary Bourn cavilleth against it. A testimony of the Book of Service set out in king Edward's days.
See Appendix.

(1) Note this answer.

Mary. the rules of our christian religion in every behalf, that no christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed."

A. D. Then my lord chancellor said, "Didst thou never read the book that I set
1555. forth of the sacrament?"—I answered, that I had read it.

See Appendix

Then he said, "How likest thou that book?"—With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, "My lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths." Then said I, "My lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book."

Taylor learned in divinity and the civil law.

Then my lord said, "Thou art a very varlet." To that I answered, "That is as ill as 'raca' or 'fatue,'" Then my lord said, "Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow."—To that I answered, "I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through, once; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also."

Then my lord said, "With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books."—Then said I, "My lord, ye did write one book, 'De vera obedientia': I would you had been constant in that; for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book."

Priests marriages confirmed by Taylor.

Then my lord said, "Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years."—To that I answered, "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws."

Justinian's law approveth marriage, and condemneth oaths against it. Tostat thoroughly answered by the civil law.

Then spake my lord of Durham, saying, "You have professed the civil law; as you say. Then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, 'Canones apostolorum.'"—To that I answered, that I did not remember any such law of Justinian. "But I am sure, that Justinian writeth, in 'Titulo de indicta Viduitate,' (in Cod.) that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made against marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man.—Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose 'jus patronatus,' for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony."

Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?"—I answered, "By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops." And Chrysostome, writing upon the epistle to Timothy, saith, 'It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'

Chrysostome call-eth it a heresy to say that a priest may not be married. Canon law approveth priests' marriages.

Then said my lord chancellor, "Thou liest of Chrysostome. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true."—I answered, "We read in the decrees, that the four general councils—Nicene, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees (which is one of the chief books of the canon law), that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married."

Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their

(1) His right name might be "sir John Clawback."

(2) Matt v.

(3) Scripture approveth priests' marriage, but the pope must be heard before the Scripture

wives, which be married."—Then said I, "If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine: let the book be fetched!" Marry.

Then spake my lord of Durham: "Though they be not there, yet they may be in 'Ecclesiastica Historia,' which Eusebius wrote; out of which book the decree was taken."—To that said I, "It is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose." A. D. 1555.

Then my lord chancellor said, "Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose."—I answered, "My lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher." Tunstal helpeth Winchester at need.

Then my lord chancellor said, "Nay I call *thee* a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church?" And with that he rose.—And I said, "By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church."

Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my lord chancellor said, "Thou shalt have judgment within this week:" and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would, that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men. Taylor sent again to prison.

And thus much was contained in the aforesaid letter of doctor Taylor for that matter.

Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to express as followeth.

The Copy of another Letter to his Friend, touching his Assertions of the Marriage of Priests, and other Causes for the which he was condemned. See Appendix.

It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops, consenting to this sentence against me, be heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willett every faithful minister to teach the people so, lest they be deceived by the marked merchants.² Winchester and his fellows proved to be open heretics.

These bishops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's council, and lawfull, but God's commandment also, to marry—for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication. Bishops sin against their own conscience.

They know that such as do marry, do not sin.

They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradise, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.³

They know what spirit they have, which say it is evil to marry (seeing God said, "It is not good for man to be alone without a wife"⁴), having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, to increase and multiply.

They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife,⁵ the virtuous woman Sarah with him; leaving father and mother, and country the while, at God's commandment. For though father and mother and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together, as man and wife in matrimony, which must needs be holy; for that it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church. Marriage no impediment for a good man to walk in obedience.

They know that St. Paul⁶ giveth a great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable; and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men

(1) Gardiner denieth his own canonist, and calleth it a patched law.
(2) 1 Cor. vii. Gen. ii.

(3) Gen. ii.

(4) Gen. xli.

(5) 1 Tim. iv.

(6) Ephes. v. Heb. xiv.

Mary. without exception, whosoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

A. D. 1555. They know that if there were any sin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul saith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham,¹ Moses,² Isaac,³ Jacob,⁴ David,⁵ &c., to talk with God; neither to the Levites, bishops' and priests' office,⁶ in the time of the Old Testament or the New.

They know that Christ would not be conceived or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, before she was espoused in marriage, his own ordinance.

They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

They know that St. Chrysostome saith, it is heresy to affirm that a bishop may not have a wife.

They know that Ambrose⁷ will have no commandment but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

They know that Christ, with his blessed mother and the apostles, were at a marriage, and [therefore] beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is true: and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

The second cause of Taylor's condemnation.

My second cause why I was condemned a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists, by the which they do believe, and will compel all other to believe, that Christ's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto; so that immediately after the words called 'the words of consecration,' there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the aforesaid papistical doctrine (yea rather, plain, most wicked, idolatry, blasphemy and heresy), I was judged a heretic.

I did also affirm the pope to be Antichrist, and popery antichristianity. And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of christian religion, and of salvation.

All men must obey kings.

I also alleged, that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence: for Chrysostome saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm, were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in subjection to the kingly authority, who hath the sword in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

Taylor never afraid of death.

Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had judge Hales. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my dear God will perform and finish the work, that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen.

And thus much wrote Dr. Taylor, concerning this matter, to his friend.

You heard in the former answers a little before, certain allegations touched of Dr. Taylor out of St. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostome,

(1) Gen. xviii.

(2) Exod. xviii.

(3) Gen. xxv.

(4) Gen. xxxi.

(5) 2 Kings vii.

(6) Matt. i.

(7) Ambrose, [cited in Causa] 23, Quæst. i. [cap. 13], "Integratæ."

and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of priests' marriage Now ye shall hear the places of the said doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here ensueth.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

The Places of the Doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's Letter.

This question was asked of St. Cyprian,¹ "What should be done with those religious persons, that could not keep their chastity as they had vowed." He answered thus: "Thou dost ask what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chastely, are afterward found in bed with a man. Of which thou sayest, that one of them was a deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruin of many persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ in faith, to live purely and chastely, then let them so remain without any fable, and strongly and steadfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide, then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiscence: and let them give to the brethren and sisters, none occasion of slander;" etc.

A deacon or virgin, or any other that hath dedicated himself to virginity, if unable to live chaste, ought to marry.

"Certain men do affirm, those men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chastity. But I do affirm, that those men do grievously sin, the which do separate them," etc.²

"Chastity of the body ought to be desired of us: which thing I do give for a counsel, and do not command it imperiously.³ For virginity is a thing which ought to be only counselled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept."⁴

A brief Recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's Causes afore touched, for the Reader more evidently to see how the Papists do against their own Knowledge, in forbidding Priests' Marriage.

The pope's clergy, forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

First; they know that matrimony in the Old Testament, "de jure institutionis," is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

Secondly; they know, that in the Old Testament, "de facto," both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others had their wives.

Thirdly; they know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God, for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of sin.

Fourthly; they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in these words: "It is not good for a man to be alone," etc.

Fifthly; they know that in the New Testament St. Paul permitteth the state of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

Sixthly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth, but also expressly willet and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry; saying, "For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife," etc.

Seventhly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of matrimony, calling it "honourable," and the bed-company to be "undefiled," etc.⁵

Eighthly; they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in matrimony; but also, that both he and his blessed mother did beatify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first miracle.

Ninthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that marriage is

(1) Cyprian, lib. 1. Epist. 11.

(2) Augustine, in his book, "De bono Conjugali," ad Julianum.

(3) The pope and his bishops command and counsel not to marry; yea, and to burn men for marrying.

(4) Ambrose, 23 Quest. 1. cap. "Integritas."

(5) Heb. xiii.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, bishops and priests, in the time of both the Old Testament, and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

Tenthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in the men of the church.

Eleventhly; they know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, per-adventure, of many a poor infant, etc.

Twelfthly; they know by St. Cyprian,¹ and St. Augustine,² that a vow is no impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

Thirteenthly; they know that Chrysostome affirmeth it to be a heresy to say, that a bishop may not have a wife.

Fourteenthly; they know that St. Ambrose³ will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

Fifteenthly; they know that before the time of pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity of vow, from men of the church.

Sixteenthly; they know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man and woman.

After that Dr. Taylor thus, with great spirit and courage, had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to king Henry and to king Edward his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop; they—perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose; that is, to turn with them from Christ to Antichrist—committed him thereupon to prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

DR. TAYLOR THE FOURTH TIME, WITH MASTER BRADFORD, AND
MASTER SAUNDERS, BROUGHT BEFORE WINCHESTER
AND OTHER BISHOPS.

*See
Appendix.*

On the day and year aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, and master Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors; or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

*The con-
stancy of
the mar-
tyr.*

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, master Bradford and master Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

(1) Epist. xi.

(2) Lib. de Bono Viduitatis, ad Julianum. [Tom. vi. §. 13, col. 375. Edit. Bened.—En.]

(3) 32. Quest. i. cap. "Integritas."

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous Judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist; and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

*Mary.**A. D. 1555.**Sentence of death given upon innocents.*

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him: "For ye have now another manner of charge," quoth the lord chancellor, "than they had before: therefore look ye; take heed to it."

Taylor condemned. See Appendix.

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

Removed from the Clink to the Compter, by night.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the 4th of February, A. D. 1555, Edmund Bonner bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummary. Now, being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, "Master doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church, so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to Antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, "I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such like devilish observances.

*Bonner cometh to degrade him.**Persuading Taylor to turn, he refuseth.**Taylor and Bonner strive for putting on the massing-garments.**Taylor derideth the pope's massing toys.*

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said: "My lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you."

Taylor prayeth again against the pope and his detestable enormities.

Mary. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us!" And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you!" And when he came up, he told master Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber), that he had made the bishop of London afraid: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

Keepers of prison. The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous like their masters: but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their coming-in afore supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, he said:

*Taylor
blesseth
his son.*

"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his holy spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."¹

Then, turning to his wife, he said thus:

*Taylor
counsel-
leth his
wife.*

"My dear wife, continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.—Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

*His last
taken to
his wife
and his
son.*

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the

1) Taylor's godly exhortation to his son, is worthy of all youth to be marked.

church-service, set out by king Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of "*Ecclesiastica Historia*;" and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last "vale," as hereafter followeth.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

The last Will and Testament of Dr. Rowland Taylor, Parson of Hadley, written in the Book which he gave to his Son.

I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me:¹ blessed be the name of the Lord! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord.² God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads.³ I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher!

A pure
conscience fully
quieted.

Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is in vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

A grave
warning
against
popery
The sin
against
the Holy
Ghost.

Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and generally to all England.

The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, A godly
contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly
company; through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness,
life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

A godly
prayer.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

The 5th of February, anno 1555.

The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?⁴

God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?⁵

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded.⁶

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the 5th day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watching all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old), the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

Taylor led
from the
Compter
by night
toward
Hadley.

(1) Job i. 2.

(4) Psal. xxvii.

(2) Apoc. xiv.

(5) Rom. viii.

(3) Luke xii.

(6) Psal. xxx.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.The last
meeting
and leave-
taking
with his
wife and
children.

Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?"—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not well see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife:" and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

Taylor
brought
to the
sign of the
Wool-
sack.The she-
riff's gen-
tleness
showed to
the
woman.

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

Taylor
taketh his
leave of
his son
Thomas,
and John
Hull.

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfulest servant that ever man had."² And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

Arthur
Faysie.

When they were come almost at Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before time had been Dr. Taylor's servant,

(1) This sheriff was master Chester.

(2) A good testimony for all servants to mark.

met with them ; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, " Master doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty," and came to him, and took him by the hand. " Soft sir," quoth the sheriff, " he is a prisoner ; what hast thou to do with him ?" " I cry you mercy," said Arthur ; " I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison ; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man : which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them,¹ they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes), used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him ; and said, " Good master doctor ! we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom ; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years ; and, without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning : and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon ; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good master doctor, of a good heart, and good-will toward you : and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard, " Upon that condition, master doctor, we will all drink to you."

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

A close hood made for Taylor, that no man should know him.

Taylor joyful on his way.

Homes a notorious adversary to Taylor.

The sheriff of Essex laboureth to return him to papism.

(1) Christ's adversaries work all by darkness,

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Taylor maketh a jest of death, with a meet answer for such doctors and councillors.

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Master sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will: I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What! should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, "Good master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley?" "Would ye know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the sheriff, "good master doctor, tell it us plainly."

Apo-
phthegm
of Taylor.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes: and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

A good
meditation.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation if all our bishops, and spiritual men had used, they had not, for a little worldly glory, forsaken the word of God and truth, which they, in king Edward's days, had preached and set forth; nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who, at Chelmsford, was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, "which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea a bishopric if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind; but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley; and, coming within a two mile of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse: which done, he leaped, and fet a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing.¹ "Why, master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, master sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once or I die see my flock, whom thou Lord knowest I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth."

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Taylor rejoiceth that he is so nigh home.

Another apophthegm of his.

Desirous to see his flock.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor! God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." Such witness had the servant of God, of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime: for God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this: and the sheriff sore rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord strengthen him, and comfort him:" with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

The people lament him.

Taylor confesseth the truth, and confirmeth the same with his blood.

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked: "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are

Taylor lived of alms, and gave alms.

(1) Doctor Taylor has been accused of levity by the papists; but doubtless it was holy joy which so powerfully wrought in the breast of this martyr in his way to the stake: for, "per totum iter, ingens erat lætitia, doxologiae, psalmodumque cantiones." See the Latin Edition, p. 423.—Ed.

Mary. there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

A. D.
1555.

Note this
custom.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least, to call upon sir Henry Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister it unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed: and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is, to all such as cheerfully, for Christ's sake, do it.

Aldham-
common.
See
Appendix.

At the last, coming to Aldham-common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham-common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Taylor is
come
home.

Bonner's
cost and
liberality
upon
Taylor.

The peo-
ple wish
God to
help him.

Now was his head notted evil-favourably, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the *good* bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee:" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

He is not
suffered
to speak
to the
people.

Then desired he license of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bad him remember his promise to the council. "Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "promise must be kept."

What this promise was, it is unknown: but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore, they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was; especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to

stand steadfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience toward the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.The go-
spellers
are not
seditious
as the pa-
piasts com-
monly be.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses: notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Soyce
pulleth off
his boots.Taylor
confess-
eth the
truth.See
Appendix.A good
woman
coming to
pray with
him could
not be
suffered.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, "I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot." The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Richard
Donning-
ham.

Then appointed he one Mulleine, of Kersey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and Soyce a very drunkard, and Warwick, who, in the commotion time in king Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King,¹ a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder: what he meant and did therein (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

The tor-
mentors.
Warwick
a cruel
tor-
mentor.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?"

Taylor is
patient.

Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm "Miserere," in English, struck him on

Sir John
Shelton.

(1) This King was also one of them which went with his halbert to bring them to death which were burnt at Bury. "Ha. ceaseth not to be a common raller; God grant him a heart to reflect on what is past, and a tongue to play the part of a good Christian in a short while." Ed. 1570. in loc.—Ed

Mary. the lips: "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Soyce
strieth
him down
with a
halbert.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

Taylor
careless of
his death.

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did see in him any fear of death; but especially, and above all the rest who besides him suffered at the same time, always showed himself merry and cheerful in time of his imprisonment: as well before his condemnation, as after, he kept one countenance and like behaviour; whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of master John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

See
Appendix.

An ex-
ample of
singular
courage
in him.

The same morning, when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning (about three o'clock in the morning), being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and, putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick, after his accustomed manner, "Ah, whoreson thieves! ah, whoreson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?" Afterward being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a balk which was in the chamber between master Bradford's bed and his; and, there, hanging by the hands, said to master Bradford, "O master Bradford," quoth he, "what a notable sway should I give if I were hanged!" meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man.—These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

Sir
Robert
Bracher's
coming to
Hadley,
maketh a
popish
sermon.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called sir Robert Bracher, a false pretended protestant in king Edward's days, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself yet can testify; and notwithstanding the same now since became a protestant again. This sir Robert Bracher aforesaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came somewhat too late to the market (as he said), yet desirous to utter such popish pelf and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine, preaching in the same town of Hadley against justification by faith, of the corporal presence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confession; whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife in confutation of the said popish poisoned sermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here, in the end of this story, to be annexed, as under followeth.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor of Hadley, written to his Wife.

Dear wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Christ our only Mediator.
men.

I thank you for my cap;¹ I am somewhat proud of it; for it is one step from the clergy in these days. I thank God my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and Antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing-ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past. Christ's sheep can discern Christ's voice from the voice of strangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer² was sorry that he came too late to the funeral-market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and something touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark sentences, but indeed it is called of David "a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths." Our Saviour Christ calleth his word, the light, which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reprov'd thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wise not to continue in ignorance or darkness. But all we in the world pertain to two princes; either to the Father of light and truth, or else to the prince of darkness and lies.

The Scripture falsely accused of the catholics to be obscure darkness.

In these days preachers declare evidently of whom they are sent, and with what spirit they speak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out against God's lights, sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, lanterns, cressets, and candles, in God's book the Bible, provided of God's great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darkness, clouds and mists, or dangerous doubtful ways, in this our journey to our heavenly Father, long home, mansion-houses, and dearly purchased heritage. Isaiah, God's faithful messenger, saith, "Woe be unto them that call sweet sour, good evil, and light darkness. Therefore cometh my people into captivity, because they have no understanding." Our Saviour Christ pronounceth error and heresies to remain among the people, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse God's blessed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkness. These owls would have all day-lights scraped out of books, hearts, and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkness, lest they go to the prince of darkness, and be cast into the pit of utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth!

Now, touching the packs of wool and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, transubstantiate into flocks; even his very finest packing stuff against only faith justifying, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth both in the fourth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter to the Galatians; and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in; then did Christ die in vain.

The pope's pack-ware: justification by works, corporal presence, prayers for souls, auricular confession.

And whereas the sixth chapter of John was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in the said chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There, in his own person, in his own natural body, he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter proveth.³ Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even, as I said before, the apostles did.

The corporal presence. Christ's body, in the supper spiritually, upon the cross corporally.

But the popish mass is another matter. The mass as it is now, is but one of Antichrist's youngest daughters, in the which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and man. O

The mass the pope's youngest daughter.

(1) This cap was a round cap, sent by Miles Coverdale to Dr. Taylor by his wife.

(2) This "packer" was sir Robert Bracher, preaching popish doctrine at Hadley.

(3) 1 Pet. ii. and Isa. liii.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.
Description
of the pope's
kingdom.

Lord God heavenly Father! for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in king Edward's time, from this Babylonical, stewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments; from this evident and open idolatry, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisy, transubstantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lies, foul vain schisms, sects, sedition, apostasy, gay sweet poison, homied and sugared viperous venom, wily wolfishness, satanical subtilty, and abomination in the sight of God, and all such as put on the true spectacles of holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to Antichrist, from the Bible, God's true service and religion, to Latin lying legends, portueses, mass books, and superstition. They say their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all cases of true faith.

Chrysos-
tome
popishly
applied.

But, to come again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St Chrysostome, writing "*Ad populum Antiochenum*," where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh, and Elias's cloak cast down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot: at length he saith, that Christ, ascending up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him in earth.

The
meaning
of Chry-
sostome
rightly
expound-
ed concern-
ing
Elias's
cloak.

The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak¹ of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body, because it representeth his body; and as, in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth; that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones.² In Genesis xlii. there is no word of Christ's sacrament; but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion wherein his foal was bound, that is, his body. And whereas he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, "*Ego solus torcular calcavi*," "I alone did tread the wine-press;" meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the remission of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

Christ's
natural
body can-
not be
divided.
Was
never in
two places
at once.

It is not true, that the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed; and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place.³ The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally; neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouths, as the Capernaïtes and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary's substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of Abraham, in all things like unto us, sin only except.⁴ And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Christians, believing steadfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.⁵

Auricular
confes-
sion.
Praying
for the
dead.

I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed; because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his packware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians; and of flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproved the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his

(1) Of this memorial cloak, read before in Dr. Ridley's disputations.

(2) Ephes. v.

(3) Acts iii. Phil. iii. and Heb. iii.

(4) Heb. ii.

(5) Matt. xvi.

round white cake; for that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer cake, that is "doctor Devil."¹

Mary.

*A. D.
1555.*

I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he, and his fellows of Oxford, be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and all writers on the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with Antichrist, with Jezebel.² They will not be called papists, pharisees, Jews, Turks, heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries; and that in all the chief points of it: no not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves.³ God give them grace to repent! God be thanked that the nobility something of late have spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

*English people
likened to the
Galatians.*

We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetic, apostolic, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall show what countrymen we be, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world; God be praised there-for. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit by such a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal; some care how to serve him according to his goodwill written. The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.

*The cake-
god.
Careful
zeal of
Dr. Tay-
lor for
Hadley.*

Rowland Taylor.

After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley bishop of London, master Latimer, master Hooper bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, master Rogers, master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once rout against their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf to the manner of the Turks, who, when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and, that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word,

*The pro-
ceedings of
the pope-ca-
tholics in
maintain-
ing their
religion.*

*The man-
ner of
proceed-
ing alike
in the
catholics
and the
Turks.*

(1) He meaneth by the place, 1 Tim. iv., where St. Paul speaketh of the doctrine of devils.

(2) Apoc. ii.

(3) Matt. xxi.

Mary. and discourse of learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church : and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but instead of the law of God, they use, as the Proverb saith, *τῷ νόμῳ χεῖρων*, compelling men by death, fire, and sword (as the Turks do), to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed, after flesh and blood, this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks ; and therefore think they to practise the same ; at least-wise so they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived : for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against master Hooper, master Rogers, master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and master Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pygot, butcher ; Stephen Knight, barber ; Thomas Tomkins, weaver ; Thomas Hawkes, gentleman ; John Laurence, priest ; William Hunter, apprentice.

Six men
con-
victed
before
Bonner
for here-
sy.

Gardiner
giveth
over his
murder-
ing office
to Bon-
ner.

*See
Appendix.*

Six men
con-
demned
by Bon-
ner.

Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner bishop of London ; who supplied that part right doughtily ; as in the further process of this history hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's, (the lord mayor, and certain aldermen sitting with him,) the six persons afore-named, upon the 8th of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the 9th of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers : such quick speed these men could make in despatching their business at once. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter till I come, by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say—unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon Sunday following, which was the 10th of February, the said Alphonsus, a gray friar, preached before the king ; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conscience :¹ but the contrary—that they should live and be con-

Alphon-
sus, king
Philip's
confessor,
preaching
against
the burn-
ing of
heretics.

(1) It was by this very gross artifice, that Philip endeavoured to remove the reproach and hatred which he had incurred. See Burnet, vol. ii. part 2, page 478. Edition 1820.—Ed.

verted; with many other things more to the same purport. But, touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

On the 14th of February master Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forsomuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid 14th day of February, the lord chancellor, and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the 17th of February) his head also was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one master John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof; and the rather, for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he, and three of his servants, were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore, at this his compelled charges, the image was again set up the 2d day of March then next ensuing: but, for lack belike of careful watching, the 14th day of the same month in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the 15th day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer), he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

Thomas Becket's image set up at Mercer's chapel.

Mr. John Barnes troubled for Becket's image.

Becket's image again broken down.

The 18th of February, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of master Coverdale, for his deliverance; who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark. The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

Queen Mary answereth to the king of Denmark's letters touching Coverdale.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christian, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before (being there in Denmark in king Henry the Eighth's time), and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of master Machabæus,¹ superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to master Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to queen

(1) This master Machabæus and Miles Coverdale married two sisters.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Queen
Mary's
answer
to the
king's
first
letter.

Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his first letter was about the kalends of May, A.D. 1554; the copy whereof hereunder may be seen.¹

To this letter of the king, queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such captivity for any religion, but for certain debt: so neither plainly granting, nor expressly denying his request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the queen, dated the 24th of September, as followeth.²

(1) *An Epistle of the King of Denmark to Queen Mary.*

Christianus, Dei gratiâ Danie, Norwegie, Gottorum, et Vandalorum rex; Sleswici, Holsteie, Stormarie, ac Dithmerie dux; comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst; serenissimæ ac potentissimæ principis D. Mariæ, eadem gratiâ Angliæ, Galliæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, consanguineæ nostræ charissimæ, salutem.—Serenissima princeps, consanguinea charissima, pro necessitudine mutuâ conjunctione, non solum regni nominis inter nos, sed etiam sanguinis, maxime vero utrinque inter hæc regna nostra à vetustissimis usque temporibus propagata ac servata, non modo commerciorum et omnium officiorum, vicissitudine et fide, facere non potuimus, quin—pietatis et doctrinæ excellentis commendatione [ac] verè reverendi viri Johannis Machabei, sacre theologiæ doctoris et professoris præstantissimi, subditi ac ministri nostri imprimis dilecti, supplicibus gravissimæque precibus commoti—ad serenitatem vestram has literas daremus. Expositis ita nobis, in hac nostra perturbatione et motu regni Angliæ (quem ex animo evenisse dolemus, et nunc indes in modum verti speramus) quendam nomine Milonem Coverdalem, nuper diocesani Exoniensis pie huius sineque memoris proximi regis (serenitatis vestre fratris, consanguinei iidem nostri charissimi) auctoritate constitutum episcopum, nunc in tristissimas calamitates, carcerem, ac periculum, et nullâ atrociori delicti causa, sed illâ fatali temporum ruinâ incidi esse. Quæ quidem hic Millebeus noster, quod ei affinitate et (quod gravius est) pietatis, eruditionis, ac morum similitudine tanquam frater devinctus sit, non minus ad se pertinere existimat. Itaque nostram operam præstitit, ut quam ipse gratiam et favorem apud nos meretur, hominis innocentis calamitati ac periculo (quod ipse non minus suum putat) accomodemus. Movemur profecto non temere illius viri et suo merito imprimis benevoluntatis) commiseratione, ejusque maxime testimonio de captivi ætatis innocentia atque integritate: de quo quidem est ut eo melius speremus, quod, multis iam morte multatis sentibus, de ipso integrum adhuc Deus esse voluit. Proinde non dubitamus serenitatem vestram quantis possumus diligentia atque animi propensione rogare, ut nostra captivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, cumque ut à sceleris, ita à periculi etiam atrocitate alienum esse velit, et temporum offensam, quæ ipsum quoque affligi videtur, est nobis nostræque amicitie regis et presbiteri, præsertim hoc primo auditi, benignè condonare, saltematenus, ut si forte hoc rerum statu gravis ejus presentia sit, incolumis ad nos cum nos dimittatur. Id nobis summi beneficii loco, et serenitatem vestram in florentissimis regni auspiciis (quæ augusta, fausta, ac fortunata serenitatis vestre ex animo optamus) ad clementiam laudem honorificum erit: et nos dabimus operam, ut cum amicitie nostre habitum rationem intellexerimus, eo majori studio in mutuam vicem gratitudinis omniumque officiorum erga serenitatem vestram ejusque universum regnum et subditos incubemus. Deum optimum maximum precamur: ut serenitatis vestre, ad gloriam sui nominis et publicam salutem, felices omnium rerum successus et incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Datæ ex arce nostra Coldingensi, septimo calendæ Maii anno 1554. Vester consanguineus, frater, et amicus, Christianus, Rex.

(2) *The King of Denmark's Second Letter.*

Christianus, Dei gratiâ Danie, Norwegie, Gottorum, et Vandalorum rex; Sleswici, Holsteie, Stormarie, ac Dithmerie dux; comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst; serenissimæ ac potentissimæ principis Mariæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ reginæ, fidelis defensori, sorori et consanguineæ nostræ charissimæ, salutem et omnium rerum optatos et faustos successus.—Redditæ sunt nobis literæ serenitatis vestre, quibus benignè admodum ad deprecationem nostram, quâ pro D. Milone Coverdali ecclesiæ Exoniensi nuper nominati episcopi incolumitati usi sumus, responderetur: ita ut intelligamus, licet alterius causæ quam quæ nobis innotuerat periculum sustineat, tamen serenitatem vestram nostre intercessionis eam rationem habituram esse, ut illam sibi proficiat: ita ut intelligamus. Cui quidem promissioni regis cum tantum meritum tribuamus, ut eâ frui non dubitaverimus ejus captivi propinquo (nobis imprimis charo) à carcere ac solitudine ad spem atque expectationem certæ salutis vocare, facere non potuimus, quin et gratias serenitatis vestre pro tam promptâ ac benignâ voluntate, non modo hujus beneficii sed etiam perpetue inter nos ac regna nostra conservandæ ac colendæ amicitie, ageremus, et quantum in nobis esset, quod ad amplectendam persequendam hæc auspiciata initia pertineret, nihil prætermitteremus. Neque vero nobis de clementiâ ac moderatone serenitatis vestre unquam dubium fuit: quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam sui nominis et fructum publicæ utilitatis ut magis ac magis efflorescere velit, ex animo optamus. Proinde cum ob rationes æarias, neque aliud gravius delictum, D. Coverdalem teneri serenitatem vestram scribat, est sanè ut ipsius causâ lætemur, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ejus nostre precibus liberaliter donari. Nam et acceptis ipsam episcopatu, cuius nomine ærario obstrictus fuerat, cessasse, ut inde satisfactio peteretur: maximè cum neque diu eo potitum fuisse, neque tantum emolumenti inde percipisse deatur. Quinetiam siqua rationum perplexitas, aut alia forte causa reperiri posset, tamen sollicitudinem ac dubitationem nobis serenitatis vestre tam amicæ atque officiosæ deferentes literæ omnem exmerunt: ut existimemus serenitatem vestram, quoad ejus fieri posset, magis honorem nostrum, quàm quid ab eo exigi possit, consideraturam: itaque serenitatem vestram repetitis precibus urgere non constitutum: sed potius testatum facere, quàm accepta nobis serenissimæ vestre gratificatio sit, cuius talem eventum omnino speramus, ut ipse Coverdalis coram nobis eam incolumitatem à serenitate vestra exoratis beneficiis propediem representare possit. Illud vero imprimis serenitatis vestre vicissim persuasum esse cupimus, nos non solum referendæ gratiæ, sed etiam stabilendæ, provehendæque, inter nos ac regna utrinque nostra amicitie ac necessitudinis mutue occasione aut facultatem nullam esse prætermittendos. Deus opt. max. seren. vest. diu feliciter ac beatè incolumem esse velit.—Datæ ex oppido nostro Ottoniensi, 24 Sept. anno 1554.

Vester frater et consanguineus,

Christiansus.

Christian, by the grace of God king of Denmark, Norway, Gothland and of the Vandals; duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, etc.: To the most noble princess and lady Mary, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc., our most dearly beloved sister and cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

We have received your majesty's letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously unto our petition, which we made for the safeguard of master Coverdale, lately called bishop of Exeter. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your majesty will so regard our intercession that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which regal promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he, being in captivity, his friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorrow and solicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your majesty for such your ready and gracious good-will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonweal.

Wherefore, seeing your majesty writeth, that master Coverdale is in danger for certain accounts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice; and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the bishopric, by reason whereof he came in debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the account, or haply some other cause, yet your majesty's letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt; insomuch, that we think your majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your majesty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it that your majesty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your majesty. And of this we desire your majesty to be specially assured again, that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your majesty in prosperous health and felicity.

Given at our city of Otton, the 24th of September, A.D. 1554.

To these letters it was a great while before the queen would answer. At length, through great suit made, the next year, the 18th of February, she answered again in this wise.

The Answer of Queen Mary to the King of Denmark's Letter.

Serenissimo principi D. Christiano Dei gratia Danie, etc. regi; Slesvici, etc. duci; comiti in Oldenburgh, etc.; fratri et amico nostro charissimo.

*See
Appendix.*

Maria, Dei gratia regina Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hiberniæ, etc., serenissimo principi Christiano, eadem gratia Danie, Norvegiæ, Gothorum, et Vandalorum regi; Slesvici, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ, et Dithemariæ duci; comiti in Oldenburgh et Delmenhorst, etc.; fratri et amico nostro charissimo; salutem prosperumque rerum incrementum. Cum intellexerimus ex serenitatis vestræ

(1) Othonia, or Ordensee, in the Isle of Funen. See Cotton.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Coverdale delivered, and sent to the king of Denmark.

literis, quas hic nuncius nobis attulit, desiderium vestrum obtinendi à nobis pro M. Coverdalo subdito nostro exeundi è regno nostro et ad vos proficiscendi facultatem, facile quidem, in vestræ serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quanquam ille natus subditus noster nondum explicatus fuerat à debitione certæ cujusdam pecuniæ quam nostro ærario solvere jure tenebatur, tamen majorem vestri desiderii quàm nostri debiti rationem habendam esse duximus. Quin insuper animum et voluntatem gratificandi vestræ serenitati pro nostrâ mutuâ amicitia, in quâ aliâ etiam re possum, cum opportunitas feret, libenter ostendemus. Deus vestram serenitatem diutissimè servet incolumem.— Ex regiâ nostrâ Westmonasterii, 18 Februarii, anno 1555,

“Vestra soror et consanguinea Maria.”

The effect of bishop Bonner's intimation sent into his diocese.

The same month, the 19th day, was a certain intimation set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the pope Julius the Third, by Pole his cardinal and legate “de latere,” and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons to be ministered to every private person within his diocese, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid cardinal, so he, for the same purpose, had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and assail from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he had assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing; and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth: the copy of which intimation hereunder followeth.

See appendix.

The Declaration of the Bishop of London to be published to the Lay-People of his Diocese, concerning their Reconciliation.

Intimation to receive the cardinal's absolution, and to be reconciled to the pope in Lent next following.

Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto all and singular the lay-people of my diocese, do send greeting in our Saviour Jesu Christ.

Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other christian realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues, which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievously also vexed and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many other, all which sects be most repugnant and contrary one against another, and all against God's truth, and Christ's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the realm, such malice and disagreement among ourselves the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumults, and insurrections against our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to

cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's holiness to send his most godly messenger, the most reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, legate de latere, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold, the lost sheep that was gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's majesties, even so the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, at the last parliament hath received it; revoking all laws the which in the time of schism were promulgate against the authority of the pope's holiness, and restoring the same and the church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the said schism, the which reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as also of many other persons—and being so great and necessary to be extended to every person of the realm, it hath pleased the said lord legate's grace to give and impart unto me, the said bishop of London, for my said diocese, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to absolve and reconcile all and every person thereof, as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the unity of the catholic church,—as by the letters of the said lord legate's grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto everyche of the archdeacons within my diocese, more at large may and doth appear.

And forasmuch as [in] mine own person, as well for the multitude of people as distance of places, I cannot minister this benefit unto every private person myself, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true christian man ought to come unto his own pastor and curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge hereof unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose I have by the said authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do choose, name, and depute, all and singular pastors and curates having cure of souls within my diocese, and being themselves reconciled herein; that they and every of them by authority hereof shall have full power and authority, to absolve all such as be lay-persons of their parishes from heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, into the which they be fallen by occasion thereof, and also to reconcile to the church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation.

And whereas divers pastors and curates in sundry parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy the minds, and to appease the consciences, of some of their parishioners in cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also authority to every archdeacon of my diocese within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to supply that lack; so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said deanery whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeared in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if, this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the party's conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party to repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine ownself, to be resolved in [his said] scruple or doubt, and to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said archdeacons, or unto me, shall therein appear to be most expedient.

Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they monish and command every pastor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do, in the first holiday next then following, at the mass time, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these things unto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing; which thing I do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so reconciled, every one of them shall have process made against him, according to the canons, as the case shall require: for which purpose the pastors and curates of every parish shall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not so reconciled.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Mary. Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius, the third of that name, like a most tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true christian realms have done the like : exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to be unthankful yourselves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to confession in Lent, and receiving of the sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you and also all your curates therewith.

And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our sovereigns, the king and queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their majesties accordingly; and especially that it may please almighty God, to send unto her grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort, and inestimable profit.

Given at London the 19th day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the church of England, 1554 and of my translation the sixteenth.

The Form of Absolution to be kept by the Pastors and Curates in private Confessions, concerning this Reconciliation ; to be used in the Diocese of London.

Our Lord Jesu Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy and schism, or any otherwise : and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and to the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity : and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*We¹ have a little overpast the time and story of judge Hales, who although about this time [he] most pitifully sought his own destruction, through the cruel handling of the malignant papists—who pass upon nothing but upon their own dignity, little caring who perish besides, so their estimation may be magnified—yet the virtues and memory of that man are not unworthy either to be numbered with the saints that be departed, or at least not to be forgotten or obliterated among the saints that be alive. Concerning whose worthy doings, singular prudence, and incorrupt ministration of judgment, with the lamentable trouble which after fell upon that good man, we thought here, among many other histories, somewhat to express ; desiring thee, good reader, to take that which is to be followed in that man—the rest, to refer to the judgment of Him which only is Judge of all.

THE LAMENTABLE AND PITIFUL HISTORY OF MASTER JAMES HALES, JUDGE.²

We have made mention, a little before, of judge Hales, who alone taking queen Mary's part, would in no wise subscribe to have any

(1) This paragraph, with that portion of the history of judge Hales similarly distinguished with asterisks, is from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments (1563), p. 1113.—Ed.

(2) In the editions subsequent to the one just alluded to, Foxe curtails the history of judge Hales, and prefaces it with the following words : " In the history of master Hooper mention was touched a little before of judge Hales, wherefore something would be said more in this place

other queen but her, for that he thought he could not do otherwise with a safe conscience, though all the rest, in manner, had subscribed to Edward the Sixth's will and testament. Hereby as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the duke of Northumberland, to lose both body and goods, so he deserved at queen Mary's hands, and her adherents, marvellous thanks and reward of his singular faithfulness, and true heart, towards her. This sir James Hales, of the county of Kent, was both a worshipful knight and one of the high judges of the realm, who ordered and finished matters of controversy in the same. Although he did not so much exceed in nobleness of birth and parentage, as he did excel all others in virtue, prudence, gravity, and true ministering of justice; for which he was in great veneration with all men, and was more conspicuous and known to the world thereby, than by sight. There was in him, by nature grafted, a singular gift of prudence, which, afterwards, by much practice, he accomplished and brought to a marvellous good perfection; besides that, by his assiduous travail and exercise in demurring and pleading of matters, he attained to the vein of eloquence wherewith he was trimly qualified. In which kind of study being exercised certain years, and passing the under degrees, he had aspired (being rather thereunto compelled) to the high benches, [where] he executed his function with such justice, fidelity, constancy, and conscience, that even the law itself seemed no less to be printed and written in his life and doings, than in the very volumes or papers; he was always so upright a justicier and conscionable [a] judge, declining corruption and embracing law and equity.

To these his gifts and qualities, were linked like sincerity and hearty affection to religion and the gospel of Christ, whereunto he had been, by many years, most earnestly set and addicted; showing himself to be a gospeller, no less by his word than deed, and no less at home than abroad: and, as he was godly himself, so brought he up his family to his godly line and order. He had daily service in his house, which was not ministered by any of his household or waiting chaplains, but by his own self, to the intent he might be the better example to the rest; joining with this devotion the often reading of the holy Scripture. After this sort and manner he passed his life all

touching that matter. But because the story of that man, and of his end, is sufficiently comprehended in our first book of Acts and Monuments, we shall not greatly need to stand upon rehearsal of every particular matter touching the whole; but, only taking the chiefest, and leaving the rest, we will report somewhat of the communication between the bishop of Winchester and him; declaring withal how false and untrue the excuse is of our adversaries, who so precisely by the law defend themselves, and say, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out. Which if it be so, how did they then to Anne Askew? What law had they, when they had condemned her first for a dead woman, then afterward to rack her? By what law did they call up master Hooper, and prison him for the queen's debt, when the queen in very deed did owe him fourscore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in prison, and gave him never a penny? By what law did bishop Bonner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a lad of fifteen years of age, when the first jury had acquitted him, and he, at the stake, revoked all heresies, and praised the said Bonner to be a good man; and also, having him in prison, would not suffer his father and mother to come to him, to comfort their own child? What law had they to put master Rogers in prison, when he did neither preach nor read lecture after the time of the queen's inhibition? and, when they had kept him in his own house half a year, being not deprived of any living, yet would not let him have a halfpenny of his own livings to relieve him, his wife, and eleven children? By what law was Thomas Tomkins's hand burnt, and afterward his body consumed to ashes? What good law or honesty was there to burn the three poor women at Guernsey, with the infant child falling out of the mother's womb, when they all, before their death, recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewise in this case, what order or right of law did Stephen Gardiner follow, in troubling and imprisoning Judge Hales, when he had done nothing either against God's law, or man's law, in proceeding by order of law against certain presumptuous persons, which both before the law, and against the law then in force, took upon them to say their mass, as ye shall hear in these his answers and communication had with Stephen Gardiner hereunder ensuing!—E.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

Mary. king Edward's time; either being busied in weighty and public affairs, or else bestowing his time in virtue and godliness, even until
A.D. that his piety, by reason of the change of the prince and time, might
1555. not be could any more be suffered or permitted.

And now, as the change of the world and time was to every man very dangerous, so to him, in especial, it appeared most perilous: who was in that office and calling, that he could neither be long absent from it at London, neither be there occupied without present peril or jeopardy, thus the state of religion being changed and altered. Upon a time, he, being counselled by his friends and well-willers to leave his forensical trade and to go home,—providing for his safety by what means he could, either in flying or hiding himself,—refused their counsel; trusting too much there, as by and by you shall understand, to his own wit. To be short; at the time when other of the lawyers were wont to come up to London, he, the said sir James Hales, likewise came up to do his office and function; persuading and knowing himself to be clear and inculpable, but as a mouse, according to the old-said saw,¹ falling into the glue-pot. Who was not so soon at London, but that the bishop of Winchester sent for him, and did expostulate about the calling and vexing of certain prevent-law priests; for, as yet, the mass was not by the laws received and restored, although the queen herself, by her consent and example, set it forward, wherewith divers priests, being couraged, presumed to say mass. And, like as in a main and set battle there are certain nimble and light-armed soldiers, who, in skirmishes amongst their enemies, go before the force of battle; even so, in this troublesome time, there lacked none before-law prelates, or light armed but much more light-hearted soldiers, who ran before the law, who of duty should rather have followed and obeyed it. And this was not only to be seen in Kent, but also in divers other places; for, in Oxford, as it was told me, there was a certain priest, who there, in Magdalen-college, preparing himself to say mass, and being almost in the midst thereof, was, with his vestments, pulled by one from the altar, and constrained to blow a retract, until by the law he might mass it. Thus judge Hales, like a severe judge and justicier, suffering such priests not to go unpunished, as that, before a law, presumed to say mass, got thereby the queen's displeasure, but much more Winchester's evil will: the which bishop, although he had nothing wherewith justly he might burden him, yet he did expostulate with him, as though it were concerning cruelty, who had showed himself so austere a judge against the priests. Wherefore I thought best to leave in record all the whole communication had between them, as those that stood by bare it away.*

The Communication between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales; being there, among other Judges, to take his Oath in Westminster-Hall, October the 6th, A.D. 1553.²

L. Chan. :—Master Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood

(1) "Saw," an old grave saying or proverb.—Ed.

(2) This communication was published, at the time of the transaction taking place, in a small tract of three leaves (including the title) at "Rezen;" and, from a copy which produced 4l. 6s. at the sale of Mr. Neunburg, Dr. Dibdin has reprinted it in his "Library Companion," pp. 115—116. Edit. 1824.—Ed.

both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late deserts against certain her highness's doings, ye stand not well in her grace's favour; and therefore, before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation."

Hales :—" I pray you, my lord, what is the cause?"

L. Chan. :—" Information is given, that ye have indited certain priests in Kent for saying mass."

Hales :—" My lord, it is not so, I indited none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never (God willing) proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same show forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did."

L. Chan. :—" Yea, master Hales, your conscience is known well enough: I know you lack no conscience."

Hales :—" My lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass case by my conscience, as by the law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession."

L. Chan. :—" Why, master Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto."

Hales :—" My lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I have, be not able to counterpayse the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's highness' pleasure."

L. Chan. :—" Ah sir! ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which ye did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's highness doth set it forth, as yet wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and where ye offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither."

Hales :—" My lord, I seek not wilful will, but to show myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's majesty, in whose cause willingly, for justice' sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled."

L. Chan. :—" Seeing you be at this point, master Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration: and, as her grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed."

Hales :—" I thank your lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due contentation, obey the same."

And so he departed from the bar. Not many days after this communication or colloquy in Westminster-hall, which was October 6, anno 1558, master Hales, at the commandment of the bishop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained constant until

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

See Appendix.

Justice
Hales for
justice' sake
troubled.

Winchester quarrelleth with Hales's religion.

Hales committed to the Bench.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Lent, *being tossed and removed from one prison to another :* for then was he removed to the Compter in Broad-street, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet, *where he dured most christianly by the space of three weeks.*

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions (namely, of Dr. Day bishop of Chichester, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last), I have not to say.

*And' thus, now we have rehearsed his notable virtues and afflictions, borne out and valiantly sustained by him. Now will we declare the miserable falls of him, and lamentable chance. And when thus, in divers prisons, he, being tossed and wearied, could in no wise be subdued and overcome by the suppression of his adversaries, he, being yet in the mean time assaulted with secret assaults, reculed and gave over. Wherein, as I do lament so miserable a case in so worthy a man, even so do I marvel at the vile and detestable frauds and wiles of his adversaries.

There was in the prison where Hales was, a certain gentleman of Hampshire, called Forster, who being suborned, as it should seem, of the bishops, used all kinds of persuasions that he could, whereby he might draw him from the truth to error; whereby, at length, by continual wearying and seeking upon him, [he] brought to pass that Hales began to seem that he might be overcome. At last, when this came to his adversaries' ears, the bishop of Chichester was at hand forthwith, very early in the morning (on the 12th of April), to commune with master Hales in the prison; but I have no certain knowledge what the talk was between them. But, undoubtedly, his constancy was so quailed, that even before, he had given over in the plain field; and for that cause he was in a great dump and sorrow with himself: to whom, by all likelihood, this bishop came to minister matter of comfort. And the same day, in the afternoon, came unto him judge Portman, and talked with him so long till the time was come that judge Hales must come to supper. Therefore, when Portman had taken his leave, master Hales getteth him to supper with a heavy, troubled, mind; howbeit he did eat very little, or no meat at all, being brought to an extreme desperation by the worm of his conscience. Albeit, to say the truth, I do not impute the fall of this man to the persuasions of the comers to him, nor to so small causes; for in case that be true, which one told me (as it is like to be true), his adversaries went a more subtle way to work with him, than all the world knoweth. For, when they had him sure in the prison, they, like wily pies, found the means to shut him up into that part thereof, where the noise of the streets, the tumult and concourse, the night and day troubles of the talk of artificers, and coming to and fro of men,—and besides, the noise of the prisoners hard by, ringing about his head, troubled him, in such sort, that he could not take his rest,—thinking perchance that if they could not win by any other means, yet by the lack of sleep they might soon make him give over, and come unto their side;—and, perchance, therefore, this was the very policy why they made him change

(1) These particulars are substituted for a brief recital, in later editions. See as above, pp. 1115 and 1116.—Ed.

prisons so often. But, for that I have no certainty of the thing, I will leave the truth thereof to the reader's conjecture: and, whatsoever the cause was, that made him to relent in the confession of the truth, undoubtedly he was cast, forthwith, into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience thereby; insomuch that when supper was done, he gat him straight to bed, where he passed over all that night, in much care and anxiety of mind. And then, when it was day, he sent, about six of the clock, for a cup of beer, as though he were desirous to drink. His man was yet scarce out of his chamber, when he, with a penknife, had wounded himself in divers places, and would, without fail, have likewise killed himself (which argueth that he was not well in his wit), unless the goodness of God had been a present help and preservation unto him: * whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber (see what God would have done), even afore the chamber-door eftsouns the butler met him; who, being desired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction: whereby master Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good-will and providence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the Star-chamber called "doctrine of desperation."¹ Master Hales, being within awhile after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getteth himself home unto his house; where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass (having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament), casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a judge, was surely the cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved or no; about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is, that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure: that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which, if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the man's reason. But if he did it in phrenzy, and as being out of his witte, then do I greatly pity his case. Yet, notwithstanding, seeing God's judgments be secret, and we be likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last breath went out of his body; me seemeth, their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

God's
merciful
provi-
dence in
rescuing
Hales.

Judge
Hales
drowned
himself.

The cause
of Judge
Hales's
drowning
con-
sidered.

(1) Winchester might rather have said, how their cruel dealing wrought desperation.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Exam-
ples in
the time
of the first
persecu-
tion.

Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have we in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who, being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen idols, did cast down themselves headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this master Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters, who, for the self-same quarrel, did violently throw themselves headlong into the sea, as Eusebius¹ doth record? In whom, though perchance there was less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus,² and that in another virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Jerome to be *Brassilia Dyrrachina*, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herself to be a witch; and so, conventing with the young man who went about to dishonour her, pretended that she would give him an herb which should preserve him from all kind of weapons; and so, to prove it in herself, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain; and so with the loss of her life her virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of *Sophronia*,³ a matron of Rome, who, when she was required of *Maxentius* the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry awhile till she made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thrust herself through the breast, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of *Achetes*, who, biting off his own tongue, spit it out into the harlot's face?

But, in these examples, you will say: The cause was necessary and honest; and who can tell whether master Hales meaning to avoid the pollution of the mass, did likewise choose the same kind of death, to keep his faith undefiled: whereof there ought to be as great respect, and greater too, than of the chastity of the body. But you will say: He ought rather to have suffered the tyrants; and why may not the same be said of the forenamed virgins?

These examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse, or to maintain the heinous fact of master Hales (which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion), but yet notwithstanding, as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was—because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented—again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ

(1) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. viii

(2) Niceph. lib. iv. c. 13. *Brassilia Dyrrachina*.

(3) Euseb. viii. 14.—Ed.

Jesus our Saviour—we will leave therefore the final judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

And, finally, although he did it of a certain desperation, yet how know you whether he repented even in breathing out his life?—Although I truly am so far from allowing his fact, by any means, that I am wonderfully sorry for his rash, and over hasty temerity; and, therefore, although we do not account him among the martyrs, yet, on the other side, we do not reckon him among the damned persons. Finally, let us all wish heartily that the Lord impute not to him, in judgment, that which he offended in his own punishment. Amen.

Mary
A. D.
1555.

De Jacobo Halisio Carmen.

Si tua quanta fuit gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Junctaque sincerâ cum pietate fides;
Tam caro firma tibi fortisque, Halise, fuisset,
Sanctorum primo classe ferendus eras.
Instituit sed enim sua quis sic tempora vitæ
Sanctorum, ut nullis sint maculata malis?
Quum nihil ergo vides propria quin labe laboret,
Tu tua fac cures, cætera mitte Deo.

The History of Thomas Tomkins, Martyr,

WHO, HAVING FIRST HIS HAND BURNED, AFTER WAS BURNED
HIMSELF BY BISHOP BONNER, FOR THE CONSTANT
TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S TRUE PROFESSION.

Mention was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before bishop Bonner the 8th of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, Laurence, and Hunter: all which, though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet, because the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next month of March, I did therefore refer the story of them to this present month of March aforesaid, wherein now remaineth severally to entreat of the martyrdom of these six persons, as the order and time of their sufferings severally do require. Of the which six aforesaid martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the 16th day of March, A.D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation, and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would show him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbours, and almost of all his parish which knew him, as master Skinner, master Leeke,

*His godly
life and
disposi-
tion.*

Mary. and others. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me ; recording moreover as followeth : That Dr. Bonner bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year ; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence.

Tomkins maketh the bishop's hay.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added : Bishop Bonner, having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other workfolks to make hay ; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop, setting him down, said, " Well, I like thee well ; for thou labourest well : I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." " My lord," said he, " St. Paul saith, ' He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat.' " Bonner said, " Ah ! St. Paul is a great man with thee." ¹ And so, after such other talk, the bishop inferring moreover, wished his beard off, saying, that so he would look like a catholic. " My lord," said Tomkins, " before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner, in fine, sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

Notable constancy in a true christian soldier.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it ; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth, to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop, being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy ; to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some fore-feeling and terror of death. So, having with him master Harpsfield, master Pendleton, Dr. Chedsey, master Willanton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who, coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning : who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us as it were, the old image of king Porsenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola, so this catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received.

Bishop Bonner playeth king Porsenna in burning the hand of Scævola.

Tomkins, thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, " O Lord ! into thy hands I commend my spirit," etc. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which

(1) And so should he be with you, if you were a right bishop.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in master Harpsfield's face: insomuch that the said master Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And whereas the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this christian Scaevola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scaevola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scaevola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Tomkins compared to Scaevola; Bonner more cruel than Porcenna, the Etruscan

But before we come to his suffering, we will first entreat of some part of his examination and articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in register recorded.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS, BEFORE BONNER.

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the 8th day of February was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month last before, containing these words following.

The Confession of Tomkins subscribed with his own Hand.

Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

By me, Thomas Tomkins.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so perrvince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do. And so the next day, being the 9th of March, at eight o'clock in the morning to be present in the same place again to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises

Tomkins constant in his faith.

Mary. and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again, and have justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

A. D.
1555.

Articles objected and ministered the 8th day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own Hand subscribing to the same.

Transubstantiation denied.

Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof; which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

I do so believe.

Substance of bread remaineth in the sacrament.

Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the very substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

The natural presence of Christ in the sacrament denied.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do so believe.

The error of the fore-elders touching the sacrament.

Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS.

The next day, being the 9th of February, at eight o'clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforesaid, before the bishop and other his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

To the second he said, that it was only bread, and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he said and did believe, it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same.

After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop, drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read; and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions, the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The Bishop repeateth again the Confession of Thomas Tomkins ; written before by the said Bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the 26th of September, anno 1554, which is this.

May.

A. D.
1555.

I, Thomas Tomkins of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore, to Edmund bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar: And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul; and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present: Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as accustomed are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowable:—Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the 26th day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1554.

The mass full of superstition and idolatry.

Baptism ought to be ministered in the vulgar tongue. Tomkins constantly standeth to the truth of the gospel.

By me Tho. Tomkins aforesaid.

The names of them that sat upon Thomas Tomkins at this session, were these: Edmund Bonner; John Fecknam, dean of Paul's; John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; John Morwen, master of arts; Thomas Morton, parson of Fulham; Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinsaw, James Cline, clerks.

THE LAST APPEARANCE AND CONDEMNATION OF THOMAS TOMKINS BEFORE BONNER AND THE COMMISSIONERS.

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was, the last time, brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, "My lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and so, in his accustomed manner, persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, "My lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Sentence read against Tomkins.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and constant until the 16th of March next after. on which day, he was by the

His martyrdom in Smith-field.

Mary. said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in
A. D. the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation
1555. of the weak.

A Notable History of William Hunter,

A YOUNG MAN, AN APPRENTICE, OF NINETEEN YEARS, PURSUED
 TO DEATH BY JUSTICE BROWN, FOR THE GOSPEL'S SAKE ;
 WORTHY OF ALL YOUNG MEN AND PARENTS TO
 BE READ.

The 26th day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of like godly parents : by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same : whereby christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a christian man against natural affection. *Nature¹ is a strong thing, I must needs confess, and almost invincible, and, among all the affections of nature, there is none that is so deeply graved in a father's mind, as the love and tender affection towards his children, that is, as you would say, towards his own bowels. By which affection we see many, yea rather infinite parents, that are overcome ; but, of them that overcome it, very few, or rather none. So much the more, therefore, am I moved not to pass over, in this place, such notable and singular godliness of these parents ; who, when they saw their son led towards the fire, did not follow him with lamentation, neither laboured, by their words, to draw him from his godly purpose, neither took pity of his fortune ; but, setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and, as it were, forgetting themselves,—neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees—encouraged their son, as much as they could ; and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through valiantly : insomuch, that when he was ready to suffer death, either of them drinking unto him, rejoiced over him, and confirmed him in the Lord. And here, truly, I cannot tell whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents ; for he, indeed, died with great constancy, and after he had recited the eighty-fourth psalm, as he was a-dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom. But no less constancy, as I think, appeared in them, and they are no less to be accounted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son : for he, offering his body to torments, with great praise, overcame the tormentors, the torments, and the tyrants. And they, with no less praise, overcame their own natures, offering to the Lord a mind no less constant and strong than he did, and, perchance, felt no less torments inwardly, than he did outwardly. He,

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1110.—Ed.

broiling in the midst of the flame, suffered his life to be taken from him, not without cruel torment; and they, also, with no less torment, suffered their son to be taken from them. On both sides the strength of the spirit, the fervent heat of godliness, and the love of Christ, overcame all the torments; and, therefore, I thought the praise of the son could not well be recorded, without the commendation of the parents: for as he, dying for the gospel, hath left behind him in the church, a strong and evident testimony, to confirm the doctrine of the gospel; so they, to confirm a gospel-like life, have given an example, worthy to be followed of all men: * example whereof, in the sequel of this history, we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother (who, being present with his brother William, and never leaving him till his death, sent the true report unto us), we have here, with like faithfulness, placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master, one Thomas Taylor, a silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said master, and thence came to Brentwood where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

Hunter threatened for not receiving at a mass.

After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one father Atwell, a sumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, "What! meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?"

Father Atwell a sumner or promoter.

To whom William answered and said, "Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort." To whom father Atwell said, "It was never merry world, since the Bible came abroad in English."

Talk between Atwell and Hunter concerning the Bible.

To the which words William answered, saying, "Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him." Then said father Atwell, "Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No, father Atwell; nothing so well as we may now; if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had." "It is true," said father Atwell, "if it be as you say."

"Well," said William Hunter, "it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually." To the which words father Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that," said father Atwell, "you must turn another leaf; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you." To the which words William said, "God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof." "Confess his name!" quoth old Atwell, "No, no; ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name." "What?" said William, "You say not well, father Atwell."

Catholics cannot abide the Bible.

At the which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic!" And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse even over against the said chapel; who, bearing old Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the

Atwell not able to reason, but he is able to accuse the innocent.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The vicar of Southwell angry with Hunter for reading in the Bible.

The catholics in no wise will be controlled.

Hunter examined of the sacrament.

The catholics like to the Capernaïtes. Heresy mistaken by the papists.

The vicar complaineth to justice Brown of Hunter, who sendeth for Hunter's father.

Fruit of the pope's doctrine.

chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?" Then William answered, "I expound not the Scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort."

"What meddlest thou with them at all?" said the vicar. "It becometh not thee, nor any such to meddle with the Scriptures," But William answered, "I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, master vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own."

Unto the which the vicar answered, "It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art a heretic by thy words." William said, "I am no heretic for speaking the truth." But the vicar said, "It is a merry world, when such as thou art shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth chapter of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.'" William said, "I read the sixth chapter of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it."

Then said father Atwell, "When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal."

"Ah," said the vicar, "what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?" William answered, "I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of." "Why," said the vicar, "dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?" "I believe," said William Hunter, "all that God's word teacheth." "Why," said the vicar, "thou mayest learn this which I say, plainly in the sixth of John."

Then said William, "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaïtes, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, 'The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.'"

"Now," quoth the vicar, "I have found you out: now I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar." Then said William Hunter, "Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried, whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith." "Yea, thou heretic," said the vicar, "wouldst thou have it so tried?" William Hunter answered, "That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal."

Then said the vicar, "Canst thou serve God with heresy?" But William answered, "I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No," quoth William, "I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with much other communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this vicar of the Wield told master Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together; which when master Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled; because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before master Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, saying, "If it please you, sir, I know not where he is become." "No!" quoth master Brown: "I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee." "Sir," said William's father, "I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him."

Then said master Brown, "Why didst thou not bring him, when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him; or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Brentwood."

"Well," quoth master Brown to William's father, "see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me."

William's father answered, "Sir, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?" "If thou bring him to me," quoth master Brown, "I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money," quoth he, "thou shalt have some;" and bade the constable, master Salmon, to give him a crown: but William's father took none of him. Howbeit master Brown would never rest, till William's father had promised him to seek out his son. And thus master Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father; commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy master Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled; and first he, seeing his father, came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sore, and said, that master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him. "Howbeit," said he, "I will return home again, and say I cannot find you." But William said, "Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it."

And thus they came home together: but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day, when master Brown (hearing that William Hunter was come home) sent for him to the constable; who brought him immediately to master Brown.

Now when William was come, master Brown said to him, "Ah, sirrah! are ye come?" and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying: "I hear say you are a Scripture-man, you; and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you:" and turned the Bible to the sixth of St. John. And then he laid to his charge what an exposition he made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, "He urged me to say so much as I did."

"Well," quoth master Brown, "because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place?" (turning to the twenty-second of St. Luke.) And master Brown said, "Look here," quoth he, "for Christ saith, that the bread is his body."—To the which William answered, "The text saith, how Christ took bread; but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave; which was bread, as is evident by the text: for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason," said William. At the which answer master Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

Then master Brown said, "Thou naughty boy! wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly? and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou goest about to make Christ a liar!" But William Hunter answered, "I mean not so, sir; but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again; saying, 'This do, in the remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, etc., yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure."

At that word master Brown said, "Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still?" and was in such a fury with William, and so enraged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself; or else send him away. To the which master Brown answered, "Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination:" and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately; and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

An unreasonable request. The father pretends to seek the son.

The son meeteth with him in the way. Working of nature between the father and the son.

Hunter brought before Justice Brown.

Talk between Hunter and him about the sacrament. Bread broken, but not changed. Brown in a petting chafe.

How Christ called bread his body.

Brown in a rage.

Brown sendeth up Hunter to Bonner.

Mary. After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: "I understand, William Hunter," quoth he, "by master Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wield, about the blessed sacrament of the altar; and how that ye could not agree: whereupon master Brown sent for thee, to bring thee to the catholic faith, from the which, he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter." William answered, saying, "I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart."

Talk between Hunter and the bishop about the sacrament. "Why," quoth the bishop, "how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before master Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?" To the which William answered, saying, "My lord, I understand that master Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; the which I will not recant, by God's help."

Bonner's fair promises to Hunter. Then said the bishop, "I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but, if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt." William answered and said, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so, if no body will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself."

Hunter not suffered to have his conscience free. Denieth to recant. Then said the bishop, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shaven; and so continue a good catholic Christian." "No," quoth William, "I will not do so, for all the good in the world." "Then," quoth the bishop, "If you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you." "Well," quoth William, "you can do no more than God will permit you." "Well," quoth the bishop, "wilt thou not recant indeed by no means?" "No," quoth William, "never while I live, God willing."

Bonner commanndeth Hunter to the stocks. Then the bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the stocks in his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, "Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you." Then they let him forth of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

Hunter refuseth to recant. After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, "I was baptized in the faith of the holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace."

Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him, as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. "Well," said the bishop, "you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." William answered, "God strengthen me in his truth." And then he parted, and the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink.

Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the 9th day of February: at the which time I his brother, Robert Hunter, was present, when and where I heard the bishop condemn him, and five others.¹

And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant; and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed: and then

(1) These five were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, and Laurence.

rehearsed, how that William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. "Dost thou mean," quoth the bishop, "that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?" William answered, "I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection: and not, that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally."

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

On receiving the communion.

Then said the bishop to William, "Dost thou not think," holding up his cap, "that, for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?" William answered, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." Then said the bishop, "Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity." "Yea," said William, "I must needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper."

What the question is.

Then the bishop said, "I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member:" and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Brentwood, "where," said he, "thou shalt be burned."

Sentence pronounced against Hunter.

Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded with him; saying, "If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well. Thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant." But William answered, "I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my lord," said he, "if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly, but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ."

The large offer of Bonner to him.

Hunter refuseth to come from Christ for love of the world.

Then said the bishop, "If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever." William answered, "God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly." Thus William and the bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; who afterward were sent down, William to Brentwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

Hunter sent down to Brentwood to be burnt.

In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

His father and mother come to comfort him.

Then William said to his mother, "For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, mother," said he, "a crown of joy: may you not be glad of that, mother?" With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, "I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed, as any child that ever I bare."

And exhort him to be constant. See Appendix.

At the which words master Higbed took her in his arms, saying, "I rejoice" (and so said the others) "to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoice." And his father and mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's father said, "I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold; the bishop was so hard to him." But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing; but had meat and clothing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

Mark here whether Bonner did nothing but "by the law."

Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Brentwood, in a parlour, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

A notable
thing con-
cerning
Hunter's
dream.

Hunter
led to the
place of
mar-
tyrdom.
The she-
riff's son
comfort-
eth him.

Hunter's
dream
verified.

His
words
to his
father.

William
Tyrill
of the
Beaches
carpet
where he
hath no
cause.
Hunter
refuseth
the
queen's
pardon.

A dogged
saying of
Brown.

An external
show
of Christ's
favour
upon
Hunter.

there. And many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he said (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, "Away, false prophet!" and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream, which caused master Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dream in order, as is said.

Now when it was day, the sheriff, master Brocket, called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arm, saying, "William! be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." To whom William answered, "I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already." Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsel, and went forward cheerfully; the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and I his brother by another. And thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he spake to his son, weeping and saying, "God be with thee, son William!" And William said, "God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry." His father said, "I hope so, William;" and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom-faggot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty-first Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

Then said master Tyrill of the Beaches (called William Tyrill), "Thou liest, said he, 'thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit.'" But William said, "The translation saith, a contrite heart." "Yea," quoth master Tyrill, "the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics." "Well," quoth William, "there is no great difference in those words." Then said the sheriff, "Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned." "No," quoth William, "I will not recant, God willing." Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William.

Then said master Brown, "Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him." Then said William, "Good people! pray for me; and make speed and despatch quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people! and I will pray for you likewise."

"Now," quoth master Brown, "pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog." To whom William answered, "Master Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you." Then said master Brown, "I ask no forgiveness of thee." "Well," said William, "if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

Then said William, "Son of God shine upon me;" and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the people mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

Then the priest, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother

would not meddle withal. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues." "Then," quoth the priest, "look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell." William answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away!"

Then was there a gentleman which said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, "Amen, Amen." Immediately fire was made.

Then William cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, "William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death."

Comforted by his brother.

And William answered, "I am not afraid." Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and, casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

Now by and by after, master Brown commanded one old Hunt, to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old Hunt did. Then master Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, "If I do as my brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had." "Marry," quoth master Brown, "thou mayest be sure of it."

Robert set in the stocks.

Then master Brown said, "I marvel that thy brother stood so to his tackling:" and moreover, he asked Robert, if William's master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but master Brown bare him in hand that his master was there, and how that he did see him there: but Robert denied it. Then master Brown commanded the constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them.

Robert by God's providence delivered.

Here followeth the History of Master Causton and Master Higbed,

TWO WORTHY GENTLEMEN OF ESSEX, WHO, FOR THEIR SINCERE
CONFESSION OF THEIR FAITH UNDER BONNER BISHOP
OF LONDON, WERE MARTYRED AND BURNED
IN ESSEX, A.D. 1555.

Although the condemnation of master Causton and master Higbed followed after the condemnation of those other martyrs who were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet, because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forsomuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26th of March, I thought therefore, next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

See Appendix.

This master Causton and master Higbed, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundersby, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner bishop of London; peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who, in this praise of christian godliness, was nothing inferior to his master.

Higbed and Causton detected to Bonner.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Bonner
cometh
himself to
Colches-
ter.

Bonner, the foresaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with master Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

Higbed
and Causton
carried to
London.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and unmovable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London; and with them certain other prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

THE FIRST DAY'S SESSION.

*See
Appendix.*

It was not long after this, but these prisoners, being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions: at length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's, the 27th day of February, A.D. 1555; where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine (as they termed it), and so come to the unity of the popish church. Which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 28th of February.

THE SECOND DAY'S SESSION.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same; and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Bonner, Bishop of London, severally against Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed of Essex.

First, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me, Edmund bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the church of England, baptized and christened.

Item, That thou hadst godfathers and godmother, according to the said order.

Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

Item, That that faith and religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the christian people: and so was it in very deed.

Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion (that is to say, to the age of fourteen years) didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or promise then used and approved and promised by the said godfathers and godmother,

but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for christian people) did likewise.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and everywhere in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of a christian man, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was, and is, by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

The real
presence.

Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance, and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother, did then so believe, and think in all the same as the said church did therein believe.

Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous opinion or belief that hath been (against the common order of the church) brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within these thirty or forty years last past.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Jerome, Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper late bishop of Gloucester, sir Laurence Saunders priest, John Bradford, sir John Rogers priest, sir Rowland Taylor priest, sir John Laurence priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar,¹ and all the same persons (saving John Bradford, sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes) have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said opinions and misbelief.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London; Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's; and Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester; have been, and are at this present, reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing (or at the leastwise some of them), secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true; and the same, to the best and uttermost of thy power, thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

Verity taken for
heresy of
misbelieving
heretics.

Item, That thou, having heard, known, and understood, all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done; condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid: and hast becomen and art a heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine is there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, is not there in the said sacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest; and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the sad and good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London.

These articles being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

(1) Also sir Edmund Bonner, priest, before the death of Cromwell, was of that opinion, and was sworn twice against the pope.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.THE THIRD DAY'S SESSION UPON THE EXAMINATION OF MASTER
CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED.

Upon that day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid: the tenor of which answers here followeth.

The Answers of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, severally
made to the foressaid articles objected as before.

To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

To the fifth, unto this clause, "and so was it in very deed," they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause, "and so was it in very deed," they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said faith and religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their parents and kinsfolk, godfathers or godmothers, have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

Transub-
stantia-
tion.
denied.

To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate, have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and so condemned for heretics: yet about three years past, they were taken for good christian persons. And forasmuch as these respondents did ever hear them preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sacrament; but that there is remaining the substance of bread and wine.

To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these respondents themselves did never, nor yet do, so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate, named in this article, have preached that in the sacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the substance of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselves do so believe.

To the twelfth, they answer and say, that whereas other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their opinions, these respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their godfathers and godmothers for them at their baptism, and that they are no heretics or misbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, and that Christ's natural body is not there, but in heaven: for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest.

A copy of
a catholic
charity
showed.

After these answers exhibited and perused, then the bishop, speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. "Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth,

and return to the unity of the catholic church." Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two o'clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF MASTER CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED.

The next Friday, being the 8th of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe,¹ being in his palace, and there had read unto him his foresaid articles with his answers thereunto; and after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him, so doing, willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, "No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the bishops that were lately burned, be heretics: but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

*Causton
denieth to
recant.*

The bishop then leaving master Causton, calleth for master Higbed; using with him the-like persuasions that he did with the other: but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years; and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

*Higbed
called
forth, de-
nieth to
abjure.*

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered, "I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making."

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock at afternoon.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF MASTER CAUSTON AND MASTER HIGBED BEFORE BONNER.

At which day and hour, being the 9th day of March, they were both brought thither; where the bishop caused master Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly, and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself.

But master Thomas Causton answered again, and said, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose:" and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith,

*Causton
and Hig-
bed exhi-
bit a con-
fession of
faith.*

(1) This Stempe is now warden of the college in Winchester.

Mary. to the which they would stand ; and required leave to read the same :
A.D. which, after great suit, was obtained. And so he read it openly in
1555. the hearing of the people, as followeth.

The Confession of Faith of Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, and in the Presence of all the People there assembled, the 9th of March, A.D. 1555 ; and were condemned for the same in the said Consistory in Paul's Church, the Day and Year above said.

A re-nouncing of the world.

The creed. The commandments. The Lord's prayer. The catholic church.

The church of itself is sinful ; by imputation righteous.

Christ our only Mediator.

The condition of the church to be persecuted.

The church only is directed by God's word. The true church forbiddeth none to read the Scriptures.

God only to be worshipped after his word.

God's precepts to be followed, and not the constitutions of men.

First, we believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

2. We believe all the articles of our christian faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul ; and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, "built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles," as St. Paul saith, "Christ being the head corner-stone." For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight.

6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, "Father! forgive us our sins:" but, through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven ; "for he in his own person," saith St. Paul, "hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight:" "Besides whom, there is no Saviour," saith the prophet : "Neither is there salvation," saith St. Peter, "in any other name."

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, "There is one God, one Mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ." Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.

8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, "As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you : for the disciple is not above his master." "For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ," saith St. Paul, "but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."

9. We believe that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from : and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, "Search the Scriptures ; for they testify of me." We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding : "For how shall the unlearned," saith St. Paul, "say amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said?" And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, "cometh by hearing of the word of God?"

11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men : "For in vain," saith Christ, "ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men."

Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, "Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders : but walk," saith he, "in my precepts : do that I command you : put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it." Likewise saith Christ, "You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me." Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, "Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them."

13. Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused. First, in that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both. Secondly, in that it is made a private mass, whereas Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church. Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, "Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sin," saith he, "there is no more sacrifice for sin." Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, "Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands." Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness. Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

14. Now concerning Christ's words, "This is my body," we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy apostle saith, "There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation." Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example: Christ saith, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." "The rock is Christ," saith St. Paul. "Whoever receiveth a child in my name," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "receiveth me."

Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaïtes did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, "Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life."

Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, "Believe," saith St. Augustine, "and thou hast eaten it:" so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and as the apostle saith, "Try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures;" whereof if we be truly certified, being new-born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly, with this marriage-garment of our faith, come to the feast.

15. In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself: "This do in remembrance of me." And St. Paul: "As often," saith he, "as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come." Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying; "Me, you shall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father: for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you." So, according to his promise, he is ascended as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, "That heaven shall keep him until the last day also."

16. Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is everywhere; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place. Whereunto the Scriptures do agree: for his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

The Lord's supper is not to be changed from the institution of Christ. How abused.

Christ's words, "hoc est corpus meum," not denied, but expounded by other phrases.

Words of the sacrament to be taken spiritually, not literally; Christ eaten spiritually.

The substance of bread not changed.

Christ's body but in one place at once.

Mary. the angel saith: neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, "I am glad I was not there." And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

A. D.
1555.
Their
protesta-
tion.

And further, we make here our protestation before God (whom we call to record in this matter), that this which we have said, is neither of stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus showed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

Causton
and Hig-
bed con-
stant to
death in
their con-
fession.

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, "Yea, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained." After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Causton
appealeth
to the
cardinal.

Then he said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word; whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. "And therefore I," quoth Causton, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my lord cardinal."

Sentence
pronoun-
ced
against
Causton
and Hig-
bed.

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton; and then, calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, "Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk did believe, as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, whereas you say, that my lord, named Cranmer (late archbishop of Canterbury), and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such a heretic as they were, and be." Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if ye will return, I will gladly receive you." "No," said Higbed, "I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God." Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton.

Causton
and Hig-
bed con-
demned
and sent
to New-
gate.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which already he

had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were, the 23d day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there, being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horn-don on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh (both in the county of Essex) where they did most constantly, the 26th day of the same month, seal this their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of which master Higbed, justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear belike, lest they should be taken from them.

And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence,

WITH THEIR EXAMINATION AND CONSTANT MARTYEDOM.

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together, by bishop Bonner, the 9th day of February. Of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 16th of March, and the other upon the 26th day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the 28th day, and John Laurence the 29th of the said month of March.

Touching the which three martyrs (now something to say of their examinations), it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and nowhere else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of master Causton; the tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Bishop of London to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, the 8th of February, 1555.

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance (though not in outward form and appearance), which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, yea, or nay?

- Mary.* Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before your birth a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true christian faith and were faithful and true christian people, or no?
- A. D. 1555.* Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true christian faith, and were faithful and true christian people, or no?
- Belief of their fore-elders. Of their god-fathers and god-mothers. Of their young age.* Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your ownself, in times past, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points, as your said parents, kins-folks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?
- Of the king, queen, and nobility.* Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true christian faith, and believe as the catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?
- Of the present catholic church.* Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?
- Real presence, and transubstantiation.* Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament; and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you; have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, and also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church, as afore, concerning the said sacrament of the altar; and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the said sacrament?
- Whether can you now find in your heart and conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf?
- In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you? and what conference have you had therein with any? what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling-places?

Their answers to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

The Answers of Pygot and Knight to the aforesaid Articles.

To the first article, they believe, that the contents of this article are not agreeable to Scripture.

To the second, they answer and believe, that their parents, and others expressed in the said article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

To the third they answer, that they so believed; but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said article; but now they do not so believe.

To the fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the faith and doctrine contained and specified in this article, until it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the truth; which (as they said) hath been persuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and such others.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

These answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, and, in the meanwhile, to bethink themselves what they would do.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF PYGOT, KNIGHT, AND LAURENCE BEFORE BONNER.

The next day in the morning, being the 9th of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. Who answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within awhile after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins, and William Hunter aforesaid) brought openly into the consistory, the 9th day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins (as appeareth in the discourse of his history), and thereto also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Laurence only; whereunto he answered in this manner: that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; and that he was some time a black friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

Talk between
Bonner
and Laurence.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar; and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err.—After this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

THE THIRD AND LAST APPEARANCE OF THE AFORESAID PRISONERS.

At that hour they came thither again, and there, after the accustomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings, would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the history of master Hooper afore passed.

Pygot,
Knight,
and Laurence
condemned.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Their sentence of condemnation, and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the 28th day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight said at his Death upon his Knees, being at the Stake, at Maldon.

O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body and the loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil.¹ Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may, at thy commandment (as an obedient servant), be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father! forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour! spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost! through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Amen.²

The Death and Martyrdom of John Laurence, Priest.

The next day, being the 29th of this month, the said John Laurence was brought to Colchester, and there, being not able to go (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened with evil keeping), was borne to the fire in a chair, and, so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this Laurence, he, sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise:" which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

*See
Appendix.*

(1) Psalm xlii. ["To take soil" is a hunting term, meaning "to run into water," as a deer, when closely pursued.—Ed.]

(2) Mark the spirit of this prayer, and compare it with the prayer of the papists, at the sacrifice of the mass.

APPENDIX TO VOL. VI.

Page 3, line 18. "*A certain precept or decree of King Edward,*" &c.]—This will be found in the Westminster Register (bound up with the Bonner Register), folio 272 verso. Foxe's copy has been collated, and conformed to the original. It is followed in the Register by a letter from Bonner to Richard Eden, archdeacon of Middlesex, for the execution thereof, dated Westm. Dec. 28th, 1549.

Page 4, line 16.]—"Graille, or grayle, corrupted from *gradual*. It ought to contain, 'the office for sprinkling holy water, the Prefaces to the Masses, the offices, the Kyrie, the Gloria in Excelsis, the *gradales*, or what is gradually sung after the Epistles, &c.' (Gutch, Coll. Cur. ii. 166.)—*Pie*, or *pye*, the familiar English name for the popish ordinal; that is, the book in which was ordained the manner of saying and solemnizing the offices of the Church. (See Gutch, Collect. Cur. ii. 169.) The difficulty and intricacy of it is alluded to in the preface to our Liturgy. The word is supposed to be an abbreviation of *pinas*, the Greek word for an index; or because it was pied, or of various colours, red, white, and black. The former seems more probable.—*Portass*, or *portues*, the *port-hors* or breviary." (Nares's Glossary.) See more in the Addenda, at the end of this Appendix.

Page 4, line 4 from the bottom.]—Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, was translated to London by royal letters, dated April 1st, 1550. (Richardson's Godwin.) He immediately proceeded to visit his new diocese, but the Register only expresses the date of the visitation generally, as held 4 Ed. VI., 1550; it was held, most probably, early in June, for K. Edward's Journal, at June 28th, states that on that day "Sir John Yates, the high sheriff of Essex [Sir Jolin Gate, knight, of Garnetts in High Easter, elected sheriff Nov. 2, 1549; Morant's Essex, vol. i. Introd. p. viii.], was sent down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses." (See Burnet, ii. p. 325, pt. ii. p. 24; Strype, Mem. ii. pt. i. p. 355; Collier, ii. p. 304.)

In the Ridley Register we find three documents connected with this visitation. 1. "Articles to be inquired upon," folio 304 verso. 2. "Injunctions," folio 305 verso. 3. "Reasons why the Lord's board," &c., folio 288, with a preamble and conclusion, precisely as exhibited in the first edition of Foxe, 1563, p. 727, and in the present text.

1. As for the "Articles," bishop Sparrow professes to give them in his "Collections," whence they have been printed by Wilkins, Dr. Cardwell (Doc. Ann.), and the Parker Society (Ridley's Remains, supplement). In the Register, however, there appear *twenty-nine Articles*, which have been omitted by bishop Sparrow after the 12th (ending "give them their goods"). These

Articles, altogether sixty-one in number, were printed at the time by Wolf, for they thus conclude in the Register:—

“Finis.

God save the King.

Imprinted at London by Reynold Wolfe
cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.”

This book, however, is not mentioned by our bibliographers among those printed by Wolf. The twenty-nine additional Articles are given at the end of this Appendix, Documents No. I.

Several variations occur between the printed “Articles” and those in the Register: thus, in the Register, the text from Timothy reads, “I testify therefore before,” “Jesu,” “the dead,” “preach thou,” “farvent in season or out of season,” “improve;” and the verses are not mentioned. Then comes a heading—

“Articles concerning men’s conversation.”

Art. II. “doth haunt:” Art. IV. “hath committed,” “or be vehemently:”

Art. V. “doth maintain:” Art. VI. “the fourtie part.” Then comes a fresh heading—

“Of Preaching.”

Art. VII. “or some place:” Art. VIII. “them self that are licensed”: Art. XII. “insurrections:” after which come the omitted Articles: then of the printed copy Art. XIII. “can not the Pater noster:” Art. XIV. “useth to have:” Art. XV. “doctrine,” “themselfe:” Art. XVIII. “any other tongue:” Art. XX. “prohibite,” “their church:” Art. XXI. “that curates license:” Art. XXVI. “in some partes:” Art. XXX. “covering of shrines.”

2. The “Injunctions” will be found at folio 305 verso of the Register, fourteen in number; and they are printed in various collections. The fifth, to which allusion is made in the “Reasons,” runs thus:—

“Whereas in divers places some use the Lord’s board after the form of a table and some of an altar, whereby dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass and to the right use of the Lord’s supper, we exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord’s board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by altars or tables.”

It appears from the copy of the “Injunctions” in the Ridley Register that they also, as well as the “Articles,” were printed at the time by Wolf, for they thus close in the Register (folio 306):—

“Proverb. xv.

The ear that hearkeneth to the reformation of life shall dwell among the wise. He that refuseth to be reformed, despiseth his own soul; but he that submitteth himself to correction is wise.

3 Regum 18.

Elias.

How long halt ye between two opinions: If the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal be he, then go after him.

Imprinted at London by Reynold Wolfe
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.”

But neither is this mentioned by any of our writers on Typographical Antiquities among the works printed by Wolf. The “Injunctions” in the Ridley Register vary slightly from the printed copies: thus, in Inj. II. “holding up his forefingers and thumbs;” and “in time of [omitting ‘the’] holy communion:” in Inj. VIII. “That common prayer:” in Inj. IX. “at the least.”

3. Respecting the “Reasons,” see the next note to this.

Page 5, top.]—The whole of this and the next page, and to the end of the top paragraph in p. 7, is in the Ridley Register (bound up with Bonner’s), folio 287 verso. It is not improbable that (like the Articles and Injunctions) the whole passage was printed at the time under the direction of the Council, and

sent to the bishops, clergy, and churchwardens; for in 1641 the same matter was printed in the same form in which it here appears, as though it were a reprint of an older publication; and King Edward's Journal has the following entry: "Nov. 19 [1550]. There were letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars." Moreover, it appears from the Council Book, quoted in Strype's Life of Cranmer (book ii. ch. 20) and Collier's History, that Day, bishop of Chichester, was before the Council November 30th, for not complying with the king's letter of November 23d, and next day stated to them that he saw no force in the Six Reasons which were set forth by the bishop of London, to persuade the taking down of altars and erection of tables. It is pretty plain, then, that he, and every other bishop, had received the Order in Council and the "Reasons" together.

Foxe's text has been collated with the Register, and strictly conformed to it. The Order in Council from the King to Ridley is in the Register dated "the xxiii day of November;" Foxe says "the xliiii.;" but he has made similar mistakes at pp. 426, 427; see the notes *infra*.

The "Reasons" are thus introduced in the Register immediately after the Order in Council:—

"Roman. I.

I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.

Londini

A°. dni. M. D. L.

Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation," &c.

There is no doubt that these "Reasons" were drawn up by Ridley, and it is as clear that they are identical with the "Considerations" referred to by the Order in Council. That they are Ridley's appears from the preamble to them, which expressly says so; and the marginal title in the Register (omitted by Foxe, but given in this Edition) equally identifies them with the "Considerations" mentioned in the king's letter.

It is a singular circumstance, that Thomas Thirlby, who vacated the see of Westminster the same day that Ridley came to that of London (April 1st, 1550), has entered, for the last entry in his Register (folio 275), the opening of the "Reasons" as far as the end of the preamble, in which he omits the word "late" before "visitation:" he then suddenly breaks off, by saying, "Omisi ulterius scribere rationes predictas, eo quod inscribuntur verbatim in Registro tempore dicti Nicolai Epi. London habito et facto:" from which it would appear that the "Reasons" were prepared by Ridley and in existence *before* his visitation, and were probably used by him in his own diocese before they were adopted by the Council in November following. He seems, however, to have taken fresh courage from the patronage of the Council, and promptly complied with their order, as appears by the following entry in his Register, folio 288 verso, immediately after the "Reasons," &c.

"Nicholas, by the permission of God bishop of London, sufficiently auctorized by our sovereign lord and most excellent prince Edward the VIth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England and also of Ireland in earth the supreme head, To my wellbeloved brother the archdeacon of London, and to his official, and to either of them, doo send greeting. And where of late I have received our said sovereign lord the king's majesty's most honourable letters of commandment, and certain considerations with the same of such tenor as be hereunto annexed; and according to my most bounden duty willing and desiring the said letters of commandment to be in all points duly executed and observed, and the same considerations deeply weighed, pondered, and considered, according to the tenor and purport thereof: These be therefore to require and also straitly to charge and command you and either of you, on his said majesties behalf, that ye, seriously and diligently weighing and considering the tenor, effects, and intents as well of the said commandment as of the same considerations in all points and understandings, doo forthwith upon receipt hereof with all your diligence wisdom and dexterity travail earnestly, not only in your own persons, but also by all other ways and means to the best of your power, in doing your duties for and concerning the speedy and due accomplishment of his graces

Executio
dictarum
litterarum.

said commandment: and furthermore seembably do monish and command, or cause to be monished and commanded, on his Majesty's behalf, all and singular parsons, vicars, curates, churchwardens and others within your archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, to whom it appertaineth, to do and accomplish the like in all things accordingly; Requiring and likewise charging you and either of you, with convenient celerity (as becometh) to make certificate of all your doings and proceedings herein to me or to my chancellor, with the names also of all such within the same your archdeaconry, as from henceforth shall be found negligent, obstinate, or disobedient in doing their duties in the premises, or any part thereof. In witness whereof I have caused the king's majesty's seal, appointed for causes ecclesiastical in my diocese of London, hereunto to be put. Given in my house at London the last day of November in the year of our Lord God 1550, and in the iijth year of our said sovereign lord the king's majesty's most prosperous reign, and the first year of my translation.

"Memorandum quod tres similes moniciones sive mandata emanarunt sub sigillo archidiaconis Essexie, Middlesexie, et Colcestrie, ac eorum officialibus, conjunctim et divisim, de data ac sub sigillo prædicto."

A similar document was issued to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's (folio 289).

"Nicholas, by the permission of God &c. (ut superius) To my wellbeloved brethren the dean and chapter of the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul in London, and to the other ministers there and to every of them, doo send greeting. And where of late I have received &c. (ut superius). These be therefore to require and also straitly to command and charge you and every of you on his said majesty's behalf that ye &c. And furthermore that ye seembably do monish and command &c. churchwardens and other within your peculiar jurisdiction as well in places exempt as not exempt, to whom it appertaineth, to do and accomplish &c."

Page 6, line 6. "*To sacrifice Christ up again.*"—The Registry reads "upp againe;" Foxe's first edition "upon againe;" all the subsequent editions read simply "again."

Page 6, line 9.]—The words between stars are in the Register, but in no edition of Foxe, having been evidently omitted by the transcriber through oversight.

Page 7, top.]—After the Edition of 1563 Foxe dropped the preamble to the "Reasons," and converted this concluding paragraph into a paragraph of his own text, which then stood as follows: after the words "contained in that book," which close the Sixth Reason, he proceeds:—

"After these letters and reasons received, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the same did hold his visitation [a flat contradiction to the preamble of the 'Reasons,' which speaks of his '*late visitation*;' and probably it was to avoid this contradiction that Foxe thenceforth omitted the preamble], wherein amongst other his Injunctions the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese where the altars then did remain to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up in the stead of the multitude of their altars one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty," &c. [See the text from line 4, to "the high altar's side," for the rest of the paragraph.]

This attempt of our author to explain the origin and course of the struggle between the altars and the tables is so inaccurate, that the Editor deemed it best to revert to the text of the first edition, derived (as is evident) from the bishop's own Register. The origin of the dispute was the mention by K. Edward's First Service Book (1548) of "Lord's board," "table," and "altar." Ridley's "Injunction" at his Visitation in June 1550 did not produce uniformity; nor did his subsequent "Reasons," though afterwards backed by the Order in Council in November; nor was the dispute allayed till the Second Service Book, in 1552, suppressed the word "altar." The dispute has, unhappily, burst out afresh in our own time, but without the least sanction from

the authorized documents of the Church. It is the more singular that Foxe should have so bungled this matter, as he was living in London at the time of the Visitation, and was ordained deacon by Ridley at St. Paul's soon after; for in the Register, fol. 319 verso, among the deacons ordained at St. Paul's June 24th, 1550, is mentioned "Magr. Johñes Foxe in artibus magr. moram faciens cum dna. duciassa Suff., oriundus apud Boston Lincoln dioc. per lras. commendaticias in ea parte laudabiliter comendatus." Foxe was most probably misled as to the time of the Visitation by the fact, that the Order in Council of November and the "Reasons" occur at fol. 288 of the Register; whereas the Visitation "Articles" and "Injunctions" are not inserted till long after, at folio 304.

Page 21,]—Mary's Letter and the King's Reply, and the ensuing Instructions, together with the proceedings of the Council relative to this subject from August 9th to 29th, 1551, will be found amongst the Harleian MSS. No. 352, fol. 166—182, copied from the Council Book. The greater part of this is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. pp. 154—166.

Page 29, line 16 from the bottom.]"—"Blind" is the reading in all the editions till that of 1596, which reads "bind."

Page 32, line 4 from the bottom.]"—Holinshead, at the end of Edward VIth's reign, mentions among others who died about that time "doctor Joseph an excellent preacher." John Joseph, S. T. P. is mentioned by Newcourt as becoming rector of St. Mary-le-Bow October 20th, 1546, put in of course by Cranmer; this is probably the same individual, but Newcourt does not mention the time of his death. He was one of the preachers appointed to travel with the King's Visitors in 1547; in which year also he was appointed preacher at Canterbury, with five others, Nicholas Ridley, Lancelot Ridley, Thomas Becon, Richard Turner, and Richard Beaseley. (Strype's Cranmer.) Dr. Tonge was dead at the time of Gardiner's trial in 1551: see mention of him at pp. 129, 150, 154, 251, 253—255.

Page 32, line 3 from the bottom.]"—Something is wanting after "new;" we have the expression "new schoolmen" in next page.

Page 38, line 7. "*Alma chorus Domini.*"—These are the first words of one of the Sequences used at Pentecost, and may be seen in the "Expositio Sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum," Paris, 1502; fol. xxii. (misprinted xxi.); in the "Portiforium seu Breviarium, ad usum Eccles. Sarsb." in 4to. Paris, 1535, fol. cxviii.; and in what may be more accessible, the "Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive Hymnorum Sequentiarum Collectio," Halia, 1841, tom. i. p. 273; where the editor remarks: "Videtur carmen Gallie et Anglie fuisse proprium; nam præter Clichtovæum unum dedit Brev. Sarsburiensæ in die Pentecostes ad Completorium et tribus diebus sequentibus." It appears in the Salisbury Missale also, fol. xcv. (misprinted cxv.) verso, edit. London, printed by Pynson, 1512.

Page 42, line 29. "*These books strive one with another directly,*" &c.]—The instances of contradiction alleged by Gardiner, and which Foxe has omitted, have been printed by Strype in his "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. pp. 785-91, edit. Oxford, 1812.

Page 45, line 10. "*Master Ayre.*"—This is no doubt the Dr. Giles Ayre or Eyre mentioned at pp. 129, 150, 154, 251, 253—255. Willis mentions a Dr. Giles Eyre made prebendary of Ely September 10th, 1540, and afterwards dean of Chichester in 1549.

Page 47, note (2).]"—As the Greek original of this passage does not contain, though implying, the word "alone," Foxe would have done better to make some other quotation from Chrysostom, in which the word does appear *totidem litteris*. See Chamier's "Panstratia Catholica," tom. iii. lib. xxii. cap. 5, § 8. The Latin is the translation of Ambrosius Camaldulensis. The second quotation is in tom. vii. p. 361, Paris, 1836.

Page 59, note (6). "*Therefore it is worthily said,*" &c.]—The value of this sentence must stand on its own merits: it was not written by Clement of Rome, as seems to be assumed: see Nat. Alexand. Hist. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 130, edit. 1786; and James's Corruption of Scripture, Fathers, &c., p. 4, edit. 1843.

Page 61, line 7. "*The new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry.*"—St. Martin's, Ironmonger Lane. See an account of the matter in Burnet, near the opening of Edward's reign.

Page 63. *Zol m'èr, &c.*—Eveni Epigramma, in Jacob's *Epigram. Delectus*. vii. 91.

Page 64.]—These nineteen Articles, and Gardiner's answers to them, will be found among the Harleian MSS. No. 304, fol. 27—38, extracted from the minutes of the Privy Council by "Henry Savill," and directed "To the right honourable and my singuler good lorde, my lorde archbushop of York's good grace. This MS. stops at the words "I may have liberty to prosecute" (see p. 77 of this volume). The MS. confirms the accuracy of Foxe's copy.

Page 64, note (2).]—The reason why Foxe introduced these Articles and Replies so much before their chronological position (see p. 96, note; and p. 99, note) probably was, that they review the chief points of Gardiner's course through the interim.

Page 66, last line.]—One would rather expect "non-observation:" but the Harleian MS. agrees with Foxe: "for" must mean "with respect to."

Page 67. "*The eighth Article.*"—See p. 96, note.

Page 67, line 20. "*The superstitious going about of St. Nicholas bishop.*"—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 227—235, edit. 1841. In the days of queen Mary, "the procession of the Boy Bishop was too popular a mummery to be overlooked. Warton informs us that one of the child bishop's songs, as it was sung before the queen's majesty in her privy chamber, at her manor of St. James in the Fields, on St. Nicholas Day and Innocents' Day, 1555, by the child bishop of St. Paul's with his company, was printed that year in London, containing a fulsome panegyric on the queen's devotions, comparing her to Judith, Esther, the queen of Sheba, and the Virgin Mary."

Page 76, last line. "*Of parts.*"—The Harleian MS. reads "on my part."

Page 79, line 5. "*Taken out of the Register.*"—i. e. of the Privy Council. Foxe's matter from hence to the bottom of p. 85 ("to be kept secret") is all taken from that Register, as appears from another copy of the same matter preserved among the Harleian MSS. No. 352, fol. 99—101, which is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 135, and confirms the accuracy of Foxe's copy.

Page 79, line 8.]—The Harleian MS. omits "by the council."

Page 79, line 20. "*The ninth day of June.*"—"Tenth," which is the reading in Foxe's text, is an evident slip of his pen for "ninth:" see the preceding minute of the Council.

Page 79, line 23.]—The Harleian MS. omits "of them."

Page 79, line 22 from the bottom. "*Resolved upon.*"—The Harleian MS. reads "agreed upon."

Page 79, last line.]—The Harleian MS. omits "hereafter."

Page 80, line 6 from the bottom. "*And was convented.*"—This sentence is printed and punctuated as in Foxe's text, except that "and" is inserted before "was convented" from the Harleian MS., which seems more correct.

Page 80, margin, bottom.]—It is remarkable that Gardiner's answer in the margin of the preamble is omitted in all the editions of Foxe subsequent to that of 1563, though Foxe's marginal introduction to it is retained. See *Archæologia*, xviii. p. 140.

Page 81, line 8.]—Foxe's first edition reads "prudente," which agrees with the Harleian MS.; but he has altered it in subsequent editions into "profitable."

Page 81, note (2).]—The paragraph in the text, and that which follows it in the next page, are in the edition of 1563, p. 768, exhibited in the form of two extracts from the Register, like those in p. 79; thus:—

"Westminster, the 11th of July, 1550.

"This day the bishop of Winchester's case was debated; and because it

appeareth that he sticketh upon the submission, which is the principalist point (considering his offence that he now goeth about to defend), to the intent he should have no just cause to say he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed that the maister of the horses and Maister Secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same submission," &c. [See text.]

"At Westminster, the 13th of July.

"The maister of the horses and Maister Secretary Peter made report that they had been with the bishop of Winchester, who stood precisely, &c." [See text.]

Page 84, Margin. "*So ye might fortune,*" &c.]—This remark of Foxe is intended to apply to Gardiner's professed desire in the text, for "nothing but ustice." The pun was an after-thought, for in the first edition the margiu merely says, "Ye myghte fortune ben hanged than."

Page 88, note (1).]—The words in the text between stars are not found in Foxe's text of 1563, having slipt out through an error of the press between the bottom of p. 772 and the top of p. 773. The missing words are supplied from another copy of this sermon, given in all the subsequent editions at a place corresponding to vol. vii. p. 594 of this Edition. In some extant copies of the first edition, the hiatus is supplied on a slip of paper pasted over. A similar printed slip of paper in the same copy will be mentioned in the note on p. 711. The celebrated edition of the Latin Vulgate, published at Rome in 1590, is remarkable for alterations and corrections effected in a similar way. (See Schelhorn's *Amoenitates Literariæ*, vol. iv. p. 433.)

Page 99, line 16.]—"Say unto *him*," must mean Sir R. Sadler: see next interrogatory: at the end of which "bishops" seems an error for "bishop."

Page 100, line 10. "*The 23d day of December.*"—Foxe's text reads, by a misprint, "xiii." for "xxiii.," Tuesday having fallen on Dec. 23d in 1550. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 104, line 9 from the bottom.]—Foxe's text reads "vi.," which must be a misprint for "vii."

Page 107, Art. X.]—Foxe's text, by a misprint, has "the xi. day" for "the xii. day." (See p. 65, line 9, and p. 128, Art. XII.)

Page 121, bottom. "*The 19th day of January.*"—In the *Archæologia*, xviii. p. 151, the following minute of the Council appears: "At Greenwicke, the xix day of January, an. 1550 [1551]. This Daye the Bishoppe of Winchester servantes came to the Counsell and desired certaine of them to be sworne upon certayne Articles for witness on his behalfe; wherunto they answered that upon their honores and as they would answer before God they would witness trulye accordinge to their conscyences and as effectually as yf they were sworne uppon a booke."

Page 128, Art. XI.]—From Sept. 25th to Jan. 7th inclusive, would be exactly 15 weeks. (See p. 46, note (1).)

Page 143.]—On the number of witnesses produced at Gardiner's trial, see Foxe's remark, vol. ii. p. 7.

Page 179, middle. "*Carden.*"—See vol. v. 494; viii. 558.

Page 216, line 5 from the bottom.]—The matters presented or found at visitations were technically called the "*Comperta et Detecta*," which were respectively Englished into *comperts and detecta*. We have read *supra*, vol. iv. p. 239, that "Sir John, a priest, and also Robert Robinson, *detectet* Master Cotismore of Brightwell." And when All Souls had been visited by the commission, archbishop Whitgift wrote "that he *found* also by the *detects* that," &c. (Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, ii. p. 464.) Corresponding to these *comperta et detecta* were certain "*acta et habita*," which formed a very important part of a visitation. It appears that, in the present case, what should have been *had and done* in respect of certain particular *comperts* had been neglected.

Page 241, line 39.]—Ridley himself refers to this sermon afterwards at p. 437.

Page 258, line 10 from the bottom. "*Guadixiens. Episc.*"—M. Perez de yala was made bishop of Guadix in 1548; in which year was published the

work, the title of which appears in the text, at Cologne; it was afterwards reprinted at the same place in 1560. The author died in 1566, being then archbishop of Valencia, in his 61st year. (See Antonio, *Biblioth. Hispana Nova*, tom. ii. p. 108.)

Page 258, line 8 from the bottom.]—"Leave doone" means probably "leave doing."

Page 262, line 20. "*As I ought to be.*"—Misprinted in Foxe "thought:" the Latin at p. 100 is, "prout esse debui et debeo."

Page 266.]—From the *Archæologia*, xviii. p. 152, it appears, that on the 15th of February, "for his unreverent behaviour," especially the day before (when judgment was given against him), Gardiner was ordered by the Council to be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower, and secluded from all intercourse, and his books and papers, pens and ink, taken from him.

Page 269, note (1).]—Foxe himself, at p. 275, makes some remarks on commemorations for the dead similar to these of Fechtius.

Page 271, line 9. "*That the whole school did not know what was meant.*"—"Quibus verbis Christus consecraverit, operose quærunr Scholastici, quorum opinioniones varias ac diversas enumeravimus superius § 129. *Quidam* statuunt, nobis plane ignotum esse, quibus verbis Christus consecraverit. *Quidam* putant Christum formasse signum crucis super panem, atque hoc modo absque omni verborum forma consecrasse. *Quidam* statuunt, quod Christus illa verba, *Hoc est corpus meum*, bis protulerit, primo secrete ad consecrandum, secundo manifeste ad instruendum. *Quidam* dicunt, Christum his ipsis verbis aperte prolatis consecrasse, *Hoc est corpus meum*: Evangelistas vero non tenere hunc ordinem in recitando, quo res sunt gestæ; atque inde esse, quod benedictio prolationi verborum illorum præmittatur. Hæc omnia breviter complectitur Gabr. Biel, sic scribens, lect. xxxvi. in Can. Mis. *Circa hæc verba* (inquit) benedixit, fregit, deditque, &c.; *dubium est, quem ordinem Christus observavit, et quibus verbis consecravisset, et sunt diversæ opinioniones doctorum.*" Gerhard. *Loci Theologici*, L. xxii. cap. 13, § 148; from which, and more especially the citations in § 129, the variations, doubts, and confusion which abound in these writers may be clearly discerned.

Page 274, line 4 from the bottom.]—"Popish" is not in the first edition, but was added by Foxe afterwards.

Page 275, line 13. "*Cyriacus, Crescentianus.*"—Foxe's text has "Ciriatus, Crescentius;" but see the *Observatio* in Sollier's edition of Usuard's *Martyrology*, August 8th.

Page 275, line 28. "*Hereupon I think it came to pass,*" &c.]—See the remarks of Fechtius, at p. 269, note (1).

Page 283, line 10. "*The protector suffered his brother, being accused.*"—This being the portion of the first edition of the Acts and Monuments ordinarily pointed out as distinguishing it from succeeding editions, we may here notice the variation after the word "accused:" "without any manifest offense and (as it was afterward proved) guiltless, to be beheaded," &c., p. 880. This speaks more positively, it will be observed, than the present text. There are some variations also in what immediately follows, but not of opinion.

Page 283, line 3 from the bottom. "*About the beginning of September.*"—August 27th (Rapin).

Page 288, line 14. "*Letter . . . against the Lord Protector.*"—Four letters on this subject occur in Ellis's Letters (first series, vol. ii. p. 166), the last dated October 10th, recommending Somerset's apprehension. He was put in Beauchamp's Tower at Windsor the night of October 12th, and conveyed to the Tower October 14th. The Harleian MS., No. 353, gives a letter from Edward to the Council at London recommending moderation, dated October 8th: this is printed by Halliwell.

Page 290, middle.]—Several versions are extant of these Articles: Foxe's copy exactly agrees with that in Holinshed. Stow's copy (*Chron. edit.* 1631, p. 601) consists of 29 Articles; and exhibits several variations in phraseology: there is another of 31 Articles among the Harleian MSS., in connexion with

"an acte of parliament passed against the duke of Somerset in the 3 year of king Edward the Vith, charged by Articles and convicte therupon, and condempnd therein to imprisonment duringe the kinges pleasur the xxvijth day of Decembere an^o. 1549." (Harl. MSS. No. 353, fol. 78.)

Page 291, Art. IX.]—The Harleian MS. reads:

11. "And further the said duke hath comaunded multiplication and alchemistry to be practised, therby to abase your highnesse coyne." The same volume of the Harleian MSS. fol. 107, has the expression "altere or abase any more his coynes yet." Stow reads "alcumistry" and "abate," on which word see Halliwell's Dict.

Page 291, Art. XII.]—For "repressing" Stow reads "appeasing."

Page 291, Art. XIV.]—Stow reads "did against the laws, and caused," &c.

Page 291, Art. XX.]—Stow reads "did counsell at London to come to you, to the intent to commune," &c.; also "misgovernance."

Page 293, line 17.]—The ensuing narrative of Somerset's execution is much altered, as to phraseology, in all the subsequent editions from what it was in the first edition: the original narrative seems to have been treated much like Dalaber's account of Garret in vol. v. The original text is here restored (see the edition of 1563, p. 880).

Page 293, line 20.]—The original text says, "in the sixt yere of the reign:" this is clearly wrong (see Nicolas's Tables); and, as Foxe himself corrected it in his subsequent editions, his correction is in this instance retained.

Page 294, top. "*Suddenly a terrible*," &c.]—This is explained by Stow, who was present, as follows (p. 607):—

"The people of a certaine Hamlet, which were warned to be there by seven of the clocke, to give their attendance on the Lieutenant, now came through the Posterne, and perceiving the Duke to be already on the scaffold, the foremost began to run, crying to their fellows to follow fast after: which suddenness of these men being weaponed with Bills and Halbards thus running, caused the people which first saw them, to thinke some power had come to have rescued the Duke from execution, and therefore to cry away, away; whereupon the people ran some one way some another, many fell into the Tower ditch, and they which tarried thought some pardon had been brought."

Page 296, line 14.]—Foxe's text of 1563 and 1570 here reads "viii times," and the subsequent editions "eight times," which agrees with Hall, the original authority cited by Foxe; but the corresponding passage in vol. iii. p. 712, has "seven times."

Page 297, line 18 from the bottom.]—In Foxe's folio Latin volume (1559) there is a passage about the duke of Somerset, which does not appear to have been translated. It is printed among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. VII.

Page 298, line 16 from the bottom. "*The disputations of whom*."—This disputation was carried on for four days, from May 28th to June 1st, 1549. A report of it is included in the volume to which Foxe alludes, entitled "*Tractatio de Sacram. Eucharistiæ habita in Univ. Oxon. per Petrum Martyrem Verm. Florentinum, Regium ibidem Theolog. Prof. . . . ad hæc Disputatio de eodem Eucharist. Sacramento in eadem Univ. habita per eundem P. Mart.*;" A.D. 1549, Londini. It is also among the Harleian MSS. No. 422, fol. 4—30. Several improvements of Foxe's text from the Latin will be suggested.

Page 299, top.]—The Latin (both here and at p. 302) says, "corporaliter aut carnaliter nec realiter."

Page 299, line 3, and p. 302. "*Under the kinds*."—"under the appearances."

Page 299, line 14. "*Not to exclude bread from the nature of the sacrament*."—The original says, "retinere symbolorum naturas."

Page 299, line 17. "*Was secret within*."—"Latebat."

Page 299, line 32.]—Cross out "which are seen."

Page 299, line 6 from the bottom. "*Taking bread of the same condition which is after us.*"—Original, "*hujus conditionis quæ est secundum nos.*" In Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 32, "*ex ea creatura, quæ est, &c.*" In lib. v. c. 2, in a parallel passage, it is *τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἄρτον*.

Page 299, bottom. "*Receiving the word and calling.*"—Original, "*percipiens vocationem Dei.*" This translation follows the reading in Irenæus (lib. iv. cap. 34), *ἐκκλησιῶν*; on which Grabe remarks: "*Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν legi debere ex veteri versione et aliorum S. Patrum locis inferius p. 400 citatis colligere, atque etiam exinde perspicere est, perperam a Feuardentio aliisque Rom. ecclesiæ doctoribus invocationem, recitationem verborum Christi: Hoc est corpus meum: Hic est sanguis meus, hic intelligi.*"

Page 299, note (3).—Fill up this reference thus: "August. (prout citatur) Dist. 2. [De Consecrat. cap. 48.] Ex sententiis Prosperi." A remark may be added here, perhaps, though it would have found a place more appropriately in vol. iii. p. 115, on the mode of quoting from the fathers observable in Swinderby and others; that it was an object in those times to be able to cite the authority of Gratian, without much reference to the validity of the passages adduced by him in themselves. "*His satisfaciendum fuit (remarks Boehmer) qui sententiam Augustini aliorumque Patrum maluerunt ex Decreto adducere, quam ex fonte tantum in scenam producere, quod ex relatione in Decretum usum auctoritatemque accepisse crederetur. In hanc etiam sententiam ivit Espenius in schol. in omnes Can. Conciliorum, P. VI. c. 3, § 5, aitque: quapropter si canon alicujus particularis Concilii aut sententia S. Patris alteriusve probati auctoris a Gratiano referatur; et quis illius canonis aut sententiæ auctoritate uti velit, sapius non inutile erit, eum e Decreto Gratiani citare præcipue si cum Canonistis agatur. Cum enim hi a puero Decreto Gratiani assueverint, illudque una cum reliquis partibus juris canonici in scholis prælegi et exponi audiverint, majorem eis ideam imprimere solebant, qui e Decreto Gratiani proferebantur Canones, quam e synodis aliquibus aut patribus aliisque auctoribus, quos FENE NUNQUAM LEGUNT, imo de quibus frequentur nec audiverunt; creduntque communiter quæ ex his referuntur theologos non canonistas spectare, nullaque auctoritate valere nisi in Decreto Gratiani sint canonizata. Hac indubie de causa, qui Concilia et Patres ediderunt, in margines notare consueverunt loca Gratiani, in quibus canones aut Patrum sententiæ referuntur. Ingenua confessio viri, dum viveret, celeberrimi, confirmat ea, quæ statim ab initio (§ 1) de studio juris Canonici, olim admodum rudi et inculto, edisserui.*" (Boehmeri Dissert. prefixit to Corpus Juris Can. tom. i. p. xxxii. note; Halæ Magd. 1747.) The passage from Van Espen, above quoted, does not appear in some of the editions of his works, another treatise having been substituted.

Page 299, notes (4) and (5).—Fill up: "Theod. Dial. I. contra Eutych. [cap. 8, Dial. II. cap. 24.]"

Page 300, line 7. "*But our bodies are not made incorruptible by changing their substance.*"—The original is much plainer: "*Sed in hac mutatione non abjicitur substantia corporum nostrorum.*"

Page 300, note (5). "*Et Epist. ad Dardanum*"—query "*ad Bonifacium.*" [98 (olim 23) § 9.]

Page 302, note (12). "*Aug. ad Dardanum.*"—Ep. 187, § 41; olim. Ep. 57.

Page 304, note (3). "*Cyprian de cæna Domini.*"—Erroneously attributed to the pen of Cyprian. "*Sciant Lectores libellum sive sermonem hunc [de c. D.] cum undecim aliis ejusdem authoris qui illum comitantur sub titulo quem ipsemet apposuit de operibus Cardinalibus Christi, Cypriano falso et inepte tribui: quod ex ipsis adversariis nobiscum fatentur, non modo Erasmus, sed et Sixtus Senensis, Hesselius, Possevinus, et Bellarminus, qui et judicii sui rationes tres affert.*" (Albertin. de Sacram. Euch. p. 380.) It is, however, a tract of antiquity, and useful anti-papal passages from it will be found in Faber's "*Doctrine of Transubstantiation,*" pp. 114, 118.

Page 306, bottom.—For the Latin of this First Disputation, see Harl. MSS. No. 422, fol. 35—37.

Page 307, line 35.—The words "*after him bishop of Rome*" are put in by Foxe. The original says: "*Sub 3º Innocentio cœpit hæc tam portentosa*

transubstantio circa annum Domini 1315. Bonifacius fecit hanc transubstantiationem tertium articulum fidei Gelasius plane testatur panem manere, contra Nestorium."

Page 307, line 36. "*Whereas another bishop of Rome before him... Gelasius the First.*"—Foxe's text reads "*after*" and "*Gelasius the Third*;" but there was no Gelasius III. Gelasius I., who wrote "*contra Eutychen et Nestorium*," was Pope A.D. 492—496. The passage here referred to occurs in that work (Basil. 1556, p. 689), and is cited at p. 347, note (6), of this volume. See Rivet's *Critici Sacri*, lib. iv. § 26.

Page 307, note (2).—In the reference "80" has been substituted for "8," as suiting the text better than the other, the identical words appearing in neither. Several passages given as *quotations* in this discussion seem more like inferences than verbal citations.

Page 308, note (1). "*Ep. 95*"—query "59."

Page 312, line 25 from the bottom. "*Who, as one Trithemius saith.*"—Foxe's text reads erroneously *Tritenius*. *Trithemius* states respecting Jo. Damascene, "*claruit sub Theodosio devotissimo principe, anno Domini cccxc.*;" to which this corrective note is subjoined in the Bibliotheca ecclesiastica of Fabricius (Hamb. 1718) p. 27: "*imo sæculo octavo*. Nimirum Theodosium, qui ante Leonem Isaurum rebus præfuit, cum Theodosio magno Trithemius confundit."

Page 313, line 10 from the bottom. —Foxe's text reads "*Theophilactus Alexandrinus*," and the Harleian MS. fol. 36 b, "*Theophilus Alexandrinus*;" confounding him with Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria in the fourth century. Theophylact was archbishop of Achrida and primate of Bulgaria about A.D. 1070. See note on p. 319, and Cave's *Historia Litt.*

Page 319]—For the Latin of the Second and Third Disputations, see Harleian MSS. No. 422, fol. 31—35, where they are dated June 24th and 25th.

Page 319, lines 14 and 4 from the bottom. "*Theophylact of Achrida... The bread, saith he, is transelementate.*"—Foxe's text and the Harleian MS. fol. 31, read "*Theophilus Alexandrinus*;" but see the note on p. 313. "*At quodnam est ejus transelementationis subjectum, ex ipsorummet adversariorum sententia? Substantia certe panis et vini: non sola accidentia, sed substantiam potissimum intelligit: neque enim inusitata est ea hujus vocabuli species in hoc sensu acceptio, ut alibi multis Veterum testimoniis ostendimus. Si vero panis et vini substantia conservatur ex Theophylacti mente, transelementatio quam illi conjunctum tribuit, de mutatione substantiali nullomodo accipi potest; contradictionem enim implicat aliquid substantialiter conservari et remanere, ac simul substantialiter converti. Secundo ipse se explicans ac per transelementationem quid designet, aperiens: transelementat, inquit, in virtutem (δύναμιν) corporis et sanguinis. Quibus verbis aperte docet transmutationem de qua loquitur esse mere accidentalem: δύναμις enim proprie est facultas alicui rei indita, non autem substantia ipsa cujus facultas est.*" (Albertin. de Sacram. Euchar. p. 956.)

Page 320, line 11. —"Yea," "Immo," *i. e.* "Nay:" line 16, "Crucify him anew," "occidis:" line 19, "Christ's body and blood," "præsentia vera corporis Christi:" line 33, "Christ is the only, &c.," "unum atque unicum sacrificium satisfactio Christi est:" line 39, "you say," "dixerat:" line 40, "and, We believe, and therefore do speak, &c.," "et nos credidimus," &c., *i. e.* "we also believe, and therefore speak," &c.: line 48, "For neither do I, nor yet doth Augustine," "neque Augustinus neque ego."

Page 321, line 2. —"Sacramenta sunt significantia:" line 4, "neque ego respondo:" line 22, "quisquis tollit omnem substantiam tollit similitudinem, et per consequens, &c.:" line 27, "turning us into himself;" the original goes on thus: "Origines super Matt. non quod intrat in os," &c.

Page 324, line 22. "*Chrysostome upon Matth. Hom. xi.*"—See Elliott's "*Delineation of Roman Catholicism*, p. 77, edit. London, 1844.

Page 324, line 24. "*Not as Chrysostome's, but some man's else, as you know.*"—in the Latin, "non recipitur ut Chrysostomi, quod in eo negat Christum esse hominon, quod ubique Christus asserit."

Page 324, line 27. "*Here Master Gest disputed.*"—"*Excusavit imperitiam suam per exemplum cujusdam simplicis viri, qui olim cum Arriano in Concilio Niceno disserens nitebatur convertere illum, qui erat magnus philosophus et doctus valde: sic ego simplex vir philosophum et doctorem veritati innitens conabor ad veritatem reducere et convertere.*"

A portion is omitted here about the human nature being limited to space, the divine every where, &c.

Page 326, line 5.]—"Non est, nam sunt 4 termini."

Page 327, middle. "*The Declaration of Master Pernes.*"—A short introduction is here omitted.

Page 330, middle. "*Overpass in Berengarius, Zuinglius,*" &c.:—"quod ut in Berengario, Wycleffo, præterea in Zuinglio:" line 10 from the bottom, "You have pretended," "audimus."

Page 333, line 10 from the bottom. "*The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome.*"—It bears the following title, "*Theodoriti Episc. Cyri Dialogi tres contra quasdam hæreses, &c.; Romæ, per Steph. Nicolinum Sabiensem Chalcog. Apostolicum 1547.*" And Bishop Ridley's assertion of its being "directly against transubstantiation" is so well founded, that the Editor has thought it necessary to prefix something of a caveat against the very natural inferences, which would be made by the reader:—

"Cum hic liber nunc editus sit in multorum manus venturus, quorum non deerit aliqui etiam in rebus sacris versati, qui fortasse facile offenderunt, Lectorem admonendum duximus, esse in hoc authore nonnulla, quæ si non diligenter attendantur, in malam partem accipi, et aliquid forte scrupuli injicere possint; animadversa autem et recte ponderata nihil omnino offensionis afferant.

"Ac primum, quod de sacrosanctæ Eucharistiæ mysterio dicit charta viii. pagina 11, et charta xxxviii. pagina prima, dictum esse videtur ex eorum sententia, qui falso asseruerunt esse in eo pane corpus Christi remanente tamen panis substantia: quod quidem falsum est, cum ecclesia, et ipsius Christi verbis id aperte significantibus, et omnium tam veterum quam recentium Doctorum autoritate mota, facto Œcumenici Concilii decreto pronunciarit, substantiam panis in corpus Christi transubstantiari. Quanquam Theodoretus hoc fortasse nomine aliqua venia dignus videatur, quod de ea re ejus tempore ab ecclesia nondum fuisset aliquid promulgatum: et minus mirandum est, si dum adversus Hæreticos acerrime disputat, veritatis tuendæ studio longius proventus, in alteram partem nimium quandoque declinet." And again: "Quod autem alicubi videtur (Theodoretus) minus plene loqui de veritate corporis et sanguinis Domini, ut cum symbola et typos corporis et sanguinis Domini sæpe repetat;"—and, after quoting several passages, adds: "Clarum est hæc verba Theodoriti posse ad impium sensum torqueri," &c.; affording no disputable support to bishop Ridley's inferences. We quote from a copy of the edition now before us.

Several other writers of the Latin Church have laboured in the same way about this testimony of Theodoret, or are disposed to set it aside altogether: their sentiments are collected by Aubertin in his large volume, *De Sacramento Eucharistiæ* (Davent. 1654) p. 774.

Page 334, line 3 from the bottom.]—This passage of Augustine is cited at p. 342, whence it appears that the words "not from the altars" are an insertion.

Page 339, top.]—The quotation from Augustine (tom. iv. col. 1086, edit. Bened.) varies rather too much from the original. "Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro autem nihil prodest, &c.—Spiritaliter intelligite quod locutus sum, non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis; et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, spiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos."

Page 339, last line. "*Irenæus saith, 'Quando mixtus calix, et fractus panis.'*"—For "fractus," which was the reading of this passage in Foxe's days, and merely conjectural, should be substituted "factus." Grabe's lower note on the passage (lib. v. cap. 2) is: "Ita omnia MSS. nostra et *Feuardent*, vetus codex, necnon *Erasmii* editi, habent juxta Græcum *γεγονός*. Sed in *Gallarii*, *Grynæi*, *Feuardent*. editi. perperam extat *fractus*: quæ lectio orta videtur ex

conjectura quorundam V.DD., siquidem Fischerus Episcopus Roffensis et Oecolampadius lib. 4 de Euchar. c. 23 ita citarunt, uti *Feuard*. hoc loco annotavit." (See Foxe, p. 466 of this volume.)

Page 342, line 21. "*And in another place of the same Epistle.*"—Read, "*the same place.*" [§ 10, col. 681.]

Page 342, line 26. "*In like manner writeth Damasus . . . in his Credo.*"—Four different copies of the Creed are attributed to Damasus, given in Walch's "*Bibliotheca Symbolica vetus*" (Lemgov. 1770), pp. 172—176; but the extract here made agrees exactly with none of them. In the second form it runs thus: "Qui, devicto mortis imperio, cum ea carne qua natus et passus et mortuus fuerat et resurrexit," &c. Upon the authorship Walch remarks: "De symboli hujus auctore nemo diligentius disputavit Quenello Diss. xiv. in Leonem, § 7. Hic satis recte demonstravit neque a *Damaso* neque a *Gregorio*, aut his similibus, esse id confectum." (P. 180.)

Page 342, note (1).—This passage has been corrected and filled up from the original of Augustine, which is accurately translated at p. 334.

Page 343, line 15. "*St. Ambrose declareth the meaning of St. Paul.*"—The quotation here cited from Ambrose must have been made by memory, the mere words varying considerably from the original: the same remark applies to some of those on the preceding page.

Page 345, top. "*Henry the Emperor, the sixth of that name.*"—He is sometimes called Henry VII.: the difference depends on whether Henry the Fowler be reckoned an emperor: he never took the title even of "King of Germany:" hence some reckon his son Otho the Great as the first German emperor, and number the Henrys from Henry the Saint, A.D. 1002.

Page 345, note (4).—This quotation may be made from an early Latin edition, the latter part not appearing in the Greek.

Page 347, note (12).—"*Augustin ad Marcellinum.*" The reference should rather be to "*Fulgentii de fide ad Petrum, § 62.*" (Append. August. Oper. tom. vi. col. 30.) The extract in Foxe's note does not seem to be correctly quoted.

Page 348, note (2). "*August. in Sermon.*"—Quoted in Gratian's Decretum, de Consecr. Dist. II. cap. 36.

Page 348, note (8). "*Legis et Prophetarum.*"—See lib. ii. cap. 9, § 33. The sentences are inverted here, and the words not all exactly as in Augustine.

Page 351, line 30. "*Satellitium Vivil.*"—A work of John Ludovicus Vives entitled, "*Satellitium animi, sive Symbola Principum institutioni potissimum destinata,*" Lugduni, 1532; Basilee, 1537. There were several other editions, but these were the only ones the Prince could have used. Vives had dedicated to Henry VIII. his edition of Augustine's treatise "*De Civitate Dei,*" printed at Basil, 1522 (see Antonio Biblioth. Hispana nova; tom. i. pp. 725, 726); and in the same year came into England "to wait upon the princess Mary, and to teach her the Latin tongue and the belles lettres." (Dupin, Cent. XVI. book iii. p. 360.)

Page 356. "*First concerning the origin of the word Missa.*"—"Quod ad nomen Missæ attinet 'Hebraicum vel Chaldaicum esse putidissimum commentum est,' inquit post alios plurimos doctissimos viros (imprimis autem Picherellum Presbyt. in locum Matth. de S. Cœnæ institutione, et Dissert. de Missa, cap. i.) Is. Casaubonus, Exercitat. xvi. p. 582. Hanc sententiam Bellarminus et alii docti Romanenses exploserunt dudum, ut qui diversum sentiunt plane ridiculi sint, et neque Hebraicas neque Chaldaicas literas se intelligere manifeste ostendant.

"Vocabulum certe Latinum est, et inventum circa finem, ut videtur, tertii seculi, vel paulo ante. Nam si vera est Epistola Cornelii Papæ ad Lupicinum Viennensem, circa A.D. 250 notum jam erat istud vocabulum, ut recte ait Casaubonus." (Considerationes modestæ, per G. Forbesium, Episc. Edenburg.; Lond. 1658, p. 445.)

Page 368, middle. "*Egesippus thus writeth of St. James.*"—There must be some oversight here: the words in Eusebius are (lib. ii. cap. 1), *Ἰάκωβον τὸν δικαίον ἐπίσκοπον ἱεροσολύμων διέσθαι*. See Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 19, and the

note of Valerius. The same mistake occurs in the reference to St. James in Bishop Tonnall's Sermon, vol. v. p. 92.

Page 369, line 5 from the bottom. "*Chrysostome, in the eleventh Homily upon the gospel of Matthew.*"—Neither this reference, nor one to Hom. 21, made by Hospinian, suits. Perhaps it may be found to answer one or other in an early Latin edition of Chrysostom.

Page 370, line 10. "*The Kyrie Eleison nine times to be repeated.*"—A reason for this number, as an explanation will perhaps be looked for, may be given from the notes to the enlarged edition of Cardinal Bona's work, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, tom. iii. (Aug. Taur. 1753) lib. ii. cap. iv. 10: "Novem vicibus, ut dictum est, hanc precationem repetimus, ter ad Patrem, ter ad Filium, ter ad Spiritum Sanctum eam dirigentes, contra triplicem miseriam (ut apte observat Natalis Alexander Theol. Dog. et Mor. tom. i. lib. 2, art. 5, 4) ignorantiae, culpae, et poenae; vel ut tres Personas in se mutuo inexistere significetur;" and so forth.

Page 370, line 11. "*The Kyrie Eleison Gregory did institute.*"—This is a mistake: Gregory himself assigns it to an earlier period. The error, however, is made in company with eminent liturgists: "Gravius errant Amalaricus, Strabo, Micrologus, qui *Gregorium M.* hujus ritus auctorem statuunt. Illum enim Romae, et per totam Italiam, jam anno 529 receptum fuisse ex Can. 3 Concilii Vasensis ii. vel iii. perspicue intelligimus. . . Imo Gregorius ipse in sua Epistola 64, lib. 7, ad Jo. Syracusanum data, negat se hanc precem primo in Missa instituisse, sed illam, longe ante usitatam et postea intermissam, restituisse affirmat, adeoque se caeremonias antiquas Eccles. Rom. conservare, non autem a *Græcis* accipere, ut quidam Siculi ei exprobrabant." (Krazer, de Liturgiis Liber singularis; Aug. Vind. 1786, p. 380.)

Page 370, line 19. "*Gloria in excelsis.*"—See Card. Bona's *Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. iv. and notes. The assertion about Hilary is contested by various writers; see Krazer (ut supra), p. 393.

Page 373, line 18. "*The preface of the Canon.*"—More on this point may be seen if wished for, in Bona's *Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. 10.

Page 373, line 28. "*Whereby it is to be noted that Polydore Virgil, who ascribeth Qui pridie.*"—"Valfridus et Micrologus opinati sunt ab Alexandro Papa additam hanc clausulam, *Qui pridie*. Sed rectius sentit Alcuinus etiam Apostolis in usu fuisse. Extat autem in Liturgia Jacobi et Clementis, et apud Ambrosium lib. 4 de Sacram. cap. 5." Bona, *Rerum Liturg.* lib. ii. cap. 12, from which this quotation is made, not as if assenting to the *fancies* of Alcuin or others, but in order to support or illustrate the statements of Foxe.

Page 374, lines 9 and 14 from the bottom. "*Some impute the Canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus.*"—A mistake has been made here—rather a common one—in taking *Scholasticus* for a proper name. "Miras nugas de hoc Scholastico quidam scribunt, presertim Heterodoxi Misoliturgi; cum manifestissimum sit in prædicta Gregorii Epistola nomen Scholasticum non esse proprium alicujus nominis, sed accipi pro viro docto et erudito, quales olim fuerunt, qui scholis Christianorum præciebantur, ut conversos ad fidem eruerent," Cardinal Bona "*Rerum Liturg.*" lib. ii. cap. xi., supporting his assertion from Augustine, Salvian, and Jerome; to which his annotator adds: "Et quidem ipse Gregorius lib. 10, Ep. 2, vocat Matthæum Scholasticum virum clarissimum, et Gennadius in Catalogo Scriptorum Eccles. c. 84, vocat Prosperum Aquitanum sermone scholasticum, id est eloquentia et eruditione præstantem. Honorius item in Catal. Scrip. vocat Alcuinum officio Scholasticum. In eodem sensu hoc vocabulum accipit S. Augustinus Tract. super Psalmum 44." *R. Sala*, not. in Bonam, vol. iii. p. 246.

Page 376, note (1). "*Dist. 2, c. 10.*"—It is of no authority. "Observabit Lector, Turrianum, ex eoque Binium cæterosque Pontificios, Pseudo-Anacleti verba pervertere: 1. dum fingunt decretum ab ipso propositum de Cleri solius ad communionem obligatione intelligendum esse; cum perspicue referatur ad *omnes qui Ecclesiae liminibus carere nolunt*, hoc est ad *fideles omnes* qui Ecclesiae membra censentur, non ad Clericos qui prius ab officio removendi sunt, quam excommunicationis mucrone amputandi: 2. dum fingunt ministros, ut testimonium darent sacrificanti, communicare debuisse; nihil enim tale asserit

Pseudo-Anacletus : 3. dum scribunt hoc decretum in suasionem transiisse, nec fuisse necessarium, nisi quamdiu Ecclesia subjecta fuit persequentium periculo; hoc enim falsum esse docent Conc. Antioch. c. 2. Collectio Mart. Bracar. c. 83. Concil. Aquigran. sub Gregorio IV. cap. 21, quæ omnia (Ecclesia a persequentium furore liberata) renovare videntur can. 10 Apostolorum dictum. Meminerit ergo Lector Missas privatas, quo tempore hæc Epistola Anacleto supposita est, piis omnibus ipsique Romanæ ecclesiæ incognitas fuisse." Blondel, Examen Epist. Decretalium, Genevæ, 1635, p. 118; who then refers to Hieron. Apol. ad Pammach. c. 6, Cyprian de Orat. Dominica.

Page 379, line 25. "*Platina writeth how the first Latin Mass,*" &c.]—"Id fuit in sextæ Synodi clausula habitæ an. 681, sic scribente Anastasio his verbis: *Tanta autem gratia divina omnipotentis concessa est Missis Apost. Sedis, ut ad lætitiâ populî vel S. Concilii, qui in urbe Regia erat, Joannes Episc. Portuensis Missas publicas latine celebraret coram principe et Patriarcha, ut omnes unanimiter in laudes et victorias piissimorum Imperatorum eo die Latinis vocibus acclamarent.*" (Note on Card. Bona "*Rerum Liturg.*" lib. i. cap. 12, edit. Aug. Taurin. 1747.)

Page 380, line 15. "*Instituted by Theodulphus about 843.*"]—This statement is rather too general; Sigebert writes: "His temporibus floruit Theodolphus, Abbas Floriacensis, postmodum Episc. Aurelianensis, de quo refertur, quod illos versus, quos in die Palmarum singulis annis ecclesiæ Galliarum decantare in usu habent, ipse composuerit, id est, *Gloria laus et honor.*" See the "*Rerum German. Scriptores*" (Ratisb. 1726), tom. i. p. 792.

Page 384, line 7 from the bottom.]—"To the house of the Aspasians, Sempronians, or mother of the Gracchies," is the reading in Foxe's text, except that in 1576 and ever since "*Aspasians*" has been changed into "*Vaspasians*," and "*or*" into "*and*." Foxe's text has been improved from the Latin edition, which runs thus, p. 233:—"Quæ si tam felicem sortita fortunam fuisset, quàm cum felici ingenio non infelicem conjunxit educationem, non modo cum Aspasii, Sempronii, Gracchorum matre, et literariâ laude commendatissimis quibusque fœminis, sed viris, Academicis etiam titulis lauroque onustis, pari certæ commendatione potuisset." All the females of the families of the Sempronii, Gracchi, and Scipios, were sometimes called by the term Sempronia. There was a *sister* of the Gracchi called Sempronia. Hence Foxe puts in "*Matre Gracchorum*" parenthetically, to determine whom he meant. (See Lempriere.)

Page 389, line 13 from the bottom. "*Dr. Ridley . . . made a sermon at Paul's Cross.*"]—Holinshed dates this sermon Sunday, July 16th, which suits Nicolas's Tables. Mary was proclaimed in London July 19th, just ten days after the proclaiming of Jane.

Page 389, line 4 from the bottom. "*He, according to his duty,*" &c.]—See before, p. 354 of this volume.

Page 390, line 7. "*Ridley . . . sent . . . to the Tower.*"]—The following entry in the Council Book is printed in Haynes's Burghley State Papers, p. 160: "July 23d, 1553. A letter to Sir Thomas Cheney and to Sir John Gaye to receive into the Tower of London, as prysoners to be safely kept, the Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Robert Dudley, and Doctor Ridley." Foxe, however, states at p. 537 that they were *actually* put in the Tower July 26th.

Page 390, line 8. "*Master Rogers the next Sunday.*"]—July 23d, which was the eighth Sunday after Trinity by Nicolas's Tables, when the Gospel for the day would be Matt. vii. 15—21.

Page 390, middle. "*An inhibition of the Queen,*" &c.]—This is alluded to at p. 538, but with a different date.

Page 392, line 17. "*An order was taken by the lords of the Council,*" &c.]—The whole of the matter from hence to p. 394, ending "by the French ambassador," is evidently taken from the minutes of the Privy Council: see copious transcripts of those minutes in the Harleian MSS., No. 643, (printed in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. pp. 173—185), also in Haynes's Burghley State Papers, pp. 155—193. The Editor has consulted the original Council Book. See also a MS. history of this time compiled from contemporary Letters, Harleian MSS. No. 353.

Page 392, line 18 from the bottom. "*The next Sunday.*"—The first three editions omit the three paragraphs preceding this (from "By reason of this tumult" to "licensed by the queen"), and commence this paragraph: "*The next Sunday following the queen's garde was at the Cross, &c., putting 'Aug. 20' in the margin.*" The edition of 1583 first introduced the new paragraphs, and commenced this paragraph, "*After this sermon at Paul's Cross aforesamed, the next day after it followed that,*" &c. This error has been corrected in the present edition, from the old editions.

Page 392, line 12 from the bottom.]—The Council Book reads "*Rutter.*" "*August xv. 1553.*—One William Rutter committed this daye to the Marshalsee for uttering certain seditious words against the Preacher, Mr. Bourne, for his sermon at Paul's Cross on Sunday last." Foxe's text reads "*Rutler.*"

Page 392, last line.]—The Council Book says: "*August xvj. 1553. Bradforde and Vernon, two seditious preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower . . . Theodore Basil, alias Thomas Becon, another seditious preacher, committed also to the Lieutenant's charge of the Toure.*" See the note *infra* on p. 538, line 9.

Page 393, lines 6, 22, 25, 28.]—The Council Book has: "*August xxij. 1553. Two several lettres unto Miles Coverdale and John Hooper clerks for their indelayde repaire unto the Courte, where to attende upon the Lords of the Counsaill.*" And again: "*At Richmount the xxix. of Auguste, 1553. John Hoper, bishop of Gloucester, made this day his personal appearance.*" Again: "*At Richmount the xxxj. of August, 1553. Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made this day his personall apperance.*" And again: "*At Richmount the firste of September, 1553. This day appered before the Lords John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter. And the said Hooper, for considerations the Councell moving, was sent to the Fleete. And the said Coverdale commaunded to attende untill the Lordes Pleasure be further known.*"

Page 393, middle.]—William Dalby, in a letter written at London, Sept. 1st, 1553, says that "*The Bushope of Canterbury, Hooper, Levere, the bushope of Londone, and diverse other are together in disputation dayly at their owne houses, but what is done amongeste them I cannot learne.*" (Harleian MSS. No. 353, fol. 143.) Another letter dated September 5th, says, "*At London is kepte diuerser disputationes in the consistorye place in Pawles with the bushopea. Bushope Hooper must dispute on Monday nexte in the same place and upon diuerser articles, but what they be I cannot as yet learne.*" (Ibid.)

Page 393, line 32.]—"Saunders" is the reading in Foxe's text and margin, but this is at variance with his own text in line 16 of this page, and line 6 from the bottom; moreover it is at variance with the Council Book, the authority which Foxe is evidently following.

Page 393, line 17 from the bottom.]—The Council Book says: "*At Richmount the iv. of September. A Lettre of Apparaunce directed to Hughe Latymere.*"

Page 393, line 15 from the bottom. "*About the 5th of September,*" &c.]—See the matters in this paragraph fully detailed in a letter from Julius Terentianus to John ab Ulmis (Zurich Letters, Parker Soc. 1846, No. 182).

Page 393, line 4 from the bottom.]—See p. 540, line 8. The Council Book says: "*At Westminster the xij. day of September, 1553. This daye Mr. Hugh Lattymyer clercke appeared before the lordes, and for his seditious demeanor was comitted to the Towere, there to remaine a close prisoner, havinge attendinge upon him one Austy his servante . . . The archbishop of Canterbury appearing this day before the lords, was commaunded to appere the next day before them at afternoon, at the Star Chamber.*"

Page 394, line 4.]—See p. 540, line 10. The Council Book says: "*At the Starre Chamber the xiiij. of September an^o. 1553. This presente daye Thomas archbishoppe of Canterburye appeared before the Lordes (as he was the daye before appoynted): after longe and serious debatyng of his Offence by the whole boarde, it was thoughte convenyente that as well for the Treason committed by him againste the Queene's Ma^{ty} as for the aggravatynge of the same*"

his offence, by spreadinge aboute seditious Billes movinge tumultes to the disquietnes of the presente State, he should be comitted to the Towere, there to remayne and be referred to Justyce or further ordered as shall stande with the Queen's pleasure." The Harleian MS. mis-copies the date of this entry "the viij of September," whence it is so printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 175.

The following entries may be added, as interesting: "At Westminster the xvij day of November an^o. 1553. A letter to the Livetenante of the Tower willinge him at conveniente tymes, by his discrecyon, to suffer [among others named] Docter Cranmere . . . to have the liberty of the walke within the garden of the Towere, upon suggestyon that diverse be and have bene evell at ease in their bodies for want of Ayre." . . . "At St. James's the iij day of May an^o. 1554. It was this Daye ordered by the Lordes that the Maiore of Oxeford should bringe in his Byll of Allowances for the charges of Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Ridley, and Mr. Lattimer, and should have a Warrant for the same, and further it was resolved by their Lordshippes that the Judges and the Queenes Highnes Counselle learned should be called together, and theire Opinions demanded what they thinke in Lawe her highnes may doe touching the Causes of the sayde Cranmer, Ridley, and Lattimer, beinge alreadie by both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge judged to be obstynate Heretiques, which matter is the rather to be consulted upon for that the said Cranmer is alledy attainted." . . . "At Hampton Courte the xxv Day of September an^o. 1554. A letter to the Mayore and Bailifes of Oxford to delivere the late Bishoppe of Canterbury, Doctor Ridley, and Latymer, over to the charge of the newe Maiore and Bailifes that shall succede in their rowme."

The following entry (Counc. Reg. Mary, vol. ii. p. 367) was kindly pointed out to the Editor by Robert Lemon, Esq. of the S. P. O.:

At Grenewiche the Seconde of Februarye 1555.

Thapparaunce

The L. Chauncelour
The L. Prive Seale
ThErle of Pembroke
The L. Admyrall
The B. of Elye
Mr. Comptrollour
Mr. of Thorse

Mr. Vicechamberlaine
Mr. Sec. Bourne
S^r John Mordaunt
S^r Thos. Wharton
S^r Fraunces Englefield
S^r Edward Walgrave

"A letter to the Thresourer, giving him tunderstand that it is resolved here that the late Maiour and Bailifes of Oxforde shall have for the charges due unto them for D. Cranmer, Ridley and Latymer and their servauntes, thre pounde every weke; praieng him to give ordre that they be paide after that rate for somoche as is due unto them."

Page 394, line 7. "*Seditious bills.*"—See p. 539 for Cranmer's *Purgation*, the "bill" intended: see also the Zurich letter referred to in the note on p. 393, line 15 from the bottom.

Page 394, line 30. "*At Ankerwyke by sickness departed.*"—Foxe in his first edition only, p. 905, says, that Dr. Taylor "was upon the same committed to the Tower, where not long after by sicknes he departed:" in which statement he no doubt discovered that he was mistaken. (See Richardson's *Godwin*.)

Page 395, note (1).—The ensuing Report contains many verbal variations from the text of 1563: the whole has been collated with the Latin, which is printed in the Latin edition of 1559: some of the variations being improvements are left to stand; in other cases the readings of the first Edition are restored, as more faithful to the Latin. A Portion of the Disputation, as between Haddon and Watson, not given by Foxe, will be found in the Harleian MSS. No. 422, fol. 38—40. See more on the subject in the Addenda to this Appendix.

Page 396, line 6. "'And for that,' said he, 'there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism,'" &c.]—The title of the little volume alluded to is, "*Catechismus brevis, Christianæ disciplinæ summam continens, omnibus Ludimagistris auth. Regiæ commendatus: huic Catechismo adjuncti sunt Articuli de quibus in ultima Synodo Londinensi A.D. 1552, &c. &c. 8vo. Lond. 1553.*" This Catechism is generally considered to be the production of Poynt, bishop

of Winchester. Strype, however, says, "It was certainly writ by Alexander Noel, as I find by comparing Noel's Catechism and this together." (Memorials of the Reformation under Edward VI. book ii. chap. 15.) See the matter again referred to in Cranmer's Disputation at Oxford, p. 468 of this volume, and in Ridley's Disputation, p. 487. The following passage of a letter from Sir John Cheke to Bullinger, dated Greenwich, June 7th, 1553 (Zurich Letters, Parker Soc. 1846, No. 71), decides the point of the authorship: "Besides this, be [Edward VI.] has lately recommended to the schools by his authority the Catechism of John Bishop of Winchester, and has published the Articles of the Synod of London." Weston evidently alludes to the latter part of the title-page, respecting the Articles. This book was printed in Latin by Wolfe, and in English by Day, at the same time. Copies "are very rare. They could only be circulated from May 20th to July 6th, of 1553. During the reign of Mary all that fell into the hands of the various commissioners, visitors, and bishops, were burnt. Beloe, in his Anecdotes of Literature, mentions this work (vol. iii. 22), and says of it, 'it is a very rare little book, concerning which Heylin very truly says, that it is so hard to come by, that scarce one scholar in five hundred hath ever heard of it, and hardly one of a thousand has ever seen it.' " (See more in Dr. Lamb's Historical Account of the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 6, Cambridge, 1829.) There are copies of it in the Public Library at Cambridge, and elsewhere; and the Parker Society has reprinted it among the "Documents of Edward VI." Dr. Lamb thinks that the publication of neither part can be said to have had the sanction of Convocation, strictly speaking. Dr. Cardwell ("Acta Synodalia") disputes Dr. Lamb's view, and thinks that the Articles had.

Page 397, lines 4, 5. "*As messenger from the lord high steward.*"—All the English editions, following Philpot's original, read erroneously "lord great master." The Latin edition (1559), p. 216, says: "quidam generosus accessit, nomine Domini magni *œconomi*, significans ipsum cum Comite Devonienſi (qui sanguine ortus regio, quamvis a pueris carcere clausus fuerit, in omni tamen disciplinarum genere non mediocriter eruditus, natalibus nuper æquissimo iudicio comitiorum restitutus est) velle disputationi interesse." and the margin says opposite to "*œconomi*," "Is est comes Arundellus qui ad nobilitatis antiquiss. ornamenta adjecit etiam eruditionem non vulgarem." See Beaton's Political Index, vol. i. p. 432, edit. 1806; and Gerdes' Miscellanea Groningana nova, tom. ii. pt. i. p. 168, note. See more in the Addenda.

Page 407, line 16. "*Misallegding of the text.*"—It may be well perhaps to give the original of a passage, which has from that day to the present been perverted by mistranslation (see Faber's "Account of Hussenbeth's Attempt to assist the Bishop of Strasbourg," Lond. 1829, p. 30):

Ἐραν. Καὶ πιστεύεις γε σώματος Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ αἷματος;

Ὁρθ. Οὕτω πιστεύω.

Ἐραν. Ὡς περ τοῖνον τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος, ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ιερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπικλήσιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν.

Ὁρθ. Ἐάλως αἱς ὕψηνς ἀρκυσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμόν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκίας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἔστι, καὶ ἀπτά, ὅλα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Theodore, Dialog. ii. cap. 24; or fol. 38 recto edit. Romæ, 1547.

Page 413, line 18. "*Their gay gardeviance.*"—See the Appendices to vol. ii. note on p. 279, and vol. v. note on p. 102.

Page 415, line 31. "*Southwark, who forasmuch as he could not enter that way.*"—The reason for this alteration of march is thus explained by Stowe: "Certaine both men and women came to Wyat in most lamentable wise, saying, Sir, wee are all like to bee utterly undone, and destroyed for your sake; our houses shall by and by bee throwne downe upon our heads, to the utter spoyle of this borough, with the shot of the Tower, all ready bent and charged towards us; for the love of God therefore take pittie upon us—And so in most speedie manner hee marched away" (pp. 619, 620).

Page 415, bottom.]—The genuineness of this narrative of the conference with Fecknam is asserted by James Haddon in a letter to Bullinger. (Zurich Letters, Parker Society, 1846, No. 134.)

Page 418, middle.]—The genuineness of this letter has been disputed by some. Sir Harris Nicolas in his *Life of Lady Jane Gray*, p. lxxvi., allows its authenticity, but thinks it must have been written before her condemnation, because it is signed with her maiden name. Sir H. Nicolas prints it in Latin, as well as that to her sister, evidently thinking that they were originally written in Latin. But it appears from a letter of James Haddon to Bullinger, and another from John Banks to the same, published by the Parker Society (Zurich Letters, 1846, Nos. 134, 141), not only that they are genuine, but that they were originally written by her in English, and translated into Latin by Banks, who infused a coarseness into the Latin, for which Sir H. Nicolas apologizes from the state of the times, but which really does not appear in Lady Jane's English. See the Addenda.

Page 421, note (8).]—"Seloma and Zetrophone" in Foxe's text is evidently a corruption for "Seleucia and Ctesiphon;" for Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, was martyred under Sapor, king of Persia: see *supra*, vol. i. 280. It is curious that *there*, also, Foxe's text (corrected however in this edition) makes a second martyr out of the second part of Simeon's title, for his text there reads, "Symeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with Ctesiphon, another bishop in Persia;" and a few lines lower, in a translation from Sozomen, "accused Symeon and Ctesiphon." It is most probable that Foxe and Lady Jane were led into their mistake by Simeon Metaphrastes, or some other martyrologist, who did not quite comprehend Sozomen's Greek. "Seloma" cannot be a corruption of *Solya* or Jerusalem; for though Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, was a martyr (see vol. i. pp. 104, 116), he is never called "archbishop;" and "Zetrophone" is not to be met with in any of the martyrologies.

Page 425, line 15 from the bottom.]—Foxe reads "upon the 21st of the same month the fourth day after his condemnation." No doubt the 21st was the fourth day after his condemnation, according to p. 544; but the execution is *there* dated Friday, February 23d, which suits Nicolas's Tables, and is confirmed by Noailles 88, Stow, Hollinshed, Godwin in Kennett's Collections, and Strype.

Page 426, top.]—This monition of Bonner is in the Bonner Register, fol. 341. It is singular that in all the editions of Foxe it is misdated the 23d of February, though in the preceding paragraph of text it is correctly dated the 24th. The Register says "the xxiiij day of February." Foxe's copy has been collated with the original, and conformed to it. The first edition, indeed, is nearly exact; only two words in square brackets are added by Foxe, as necessary to the sense.

Page 426, bottom.]—This letter of the Queen and the Articles following are in the Bonner Register, fol. 342. Here also it is singular, that though Foxe a few lines above correctly dates them March 4th, in the preamble and the conclusion of the letter he says "March 3:" the Register says "the fourth day of March." The only instances in which Foxe's copy of the letter differs from the Register are in his reading "adultery" for "advourtry," at bottom of p. 426; omitting "utterly" at line 4 of next page; and reading "our" instead of "your" at line 26.

Page 427, line 34.]—Foxe omits "speedy" after his first edition, though it is in the Register.

Page 428, line 10.]—Foxe misreads "their" instead of "our."

Page 428, line 33.]—All the editions of Foxe, except those of 1563 and 1570, read "alienis vicibus," though the Register has plainly "alternis."

Page 429, line 4.]—The Register, fol. 343 verso, says that copies of the foregoing were sent also to the archdeacons of London, Middlesex, and Colchester. Letters from Bonner to his four archdeacons are given in the Register, dated March 18th, for the execution of the premises.

Page 429, line 10 from the bottom.]—By some unaccountable oversight, no

edition after that of 1563 gives the "prescript or monitory" of Bonner here referred to: it will be found both in Latin and English, among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. II. Two or three inaccuracies in Foxe's Latin have been corrected from the original in the Bonner Register, fol. 345.

Page 430, margin, "March 15:" at p. 548 we read "March 18."

Page 432, bottom.]—The acts of this Convocation are briefly given in the Bonner Register, fol. 339—341. It opened on Tuesday, April 3d, 1554, and was on Friday, May 25th, prorogued to the 5th of October ensuing, being the Friday following St. Michael's day.

Page 433, top.]—This Royal summons of the Convocation is in the Bonner Register folio 337 verso: it is dated "London, decimo-quinto die Marci, anno Regni primo." It is remarkable, that at folio 323, where Mary's reign commences, the anti-papal style of the Sovereign is inscribed in the title of the Register.

Page 433, last line. "*Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by some means, passeth the dignity of angels,*" &c.]—It may be well, as this statement does not come immediately from Bishop Bonner himself, to support his opinion from Mr. Gibbings's 'Roman Forgeries and Falsifications; or an Examination of counterfeited and corrupted Records,' p. 63 (Dublin, 1842).

"Notwithstanding the usual exaggeration of the Virgin Mary's power and privileges, there is a class of human beings, by whom she is confessedly surpassed.—'Gabriel Biel super Canonem Missæ, et Discipulus Serm. III. ex Catholicorum omnium Doctorum communi consensu, statuit Sacerdotem sanctissimâ et immaculatâ Virgine matre majorem atque digniorem: quia illa semel tantum filium sacro meruit in utero portare; iste vero quotidie, imo in casibus a jure expressis, in Gloss. c. "consuluit," De celebr. Miss. et a Soto in 4. dist. 13. q. 2. Navar. in c. 25. n. 87. et alii) bis, et in Die Nativitatis ter, poterit consecrare.' (Jos. Geldolph. a Ryckel *Justa Funeb. animab. fidel. defunct. persolv.* p. 404, Lovan. 1634.)"

Page. 434.]—The conference between Ridley and Bourn is given according to the text of 1563, which seems the most correct and genuine: many verbal alterations occur in the subsequent editions, some of them much for the worse.

Page 435, line 11. "*Then do they not affirm what ye take, but what they meant,*"]—This is the reading in the first edition; subsequent editions read, "then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant." The double sense of the word "take" occasions some obscurity in this passage: it is used literally in the line before, "ye take their words;" but at the end of the paragraph it is used for "understand," "ye take my words," i. e. "understand;" and this seems to be the sense in which it is here used—"they do not affirm what ye take," i. e. understand, "but what they meant," i. e. you and they employ the same words in different senses.

Page 435, note (1).]—Much the same sentiment occurs in a letter to Œcolampadius, dated April 8th, 1529. See Epist. Collect. tom. i. col. 1048.

Page 436, line 4.]—All the editions except those of 1563 and 1570 read "whom was he?" an evident corruption.

Page 436, line 14. "*Trithemius was but of late time.*"]—A very full account of this writer and his times is given in Zeigelbaver's "Historia Rei literariæ Ord. S. Bened." (Aug. Vind. 1754), tom. iii. from p. 217 to p. 333. On the particular work of Trithemius referred to, it is remarked:—"His itidem diebus inchoavit (T.) laboriosum opus *de viris illustribus* Ordinis S. B. in quatuor libros divisum, quorum priores duos an. 1492 perfecit, posteriores sequenti anno complevit, ut habet Chronicon Spanhemense. Opus tamen necdum typis in lucem prolatum fuisse anno 1507 memorat ipse in epistola ad Rogerium Sicambrum." (p. 255.)

Page 436.]—Foxe says in the margin "The book of catechism." Foxe may mean the Catechism of Justus Jonas, translated under Cranmer's authority, 1543, and often called his: but still more probably his Book on the Sacrament, which Cranmer afterwards defended against Gardiner. See the note *infra* on p. 685.

Page 436, last line. "*But maketh it,*" &c.]—"But" is wanting in the first edition.

Page 437, line 38.]—This sermon of Ridley's is alluded to at pp. 241, 242, of this volume.

Page 438, line 19. "*Quod master secretary, 'of our faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation.'*"—In all the editions except the first this passage stops at the word "faith."

Page 439, line 9.]—The letter in question was perhaps *actually* sent, and the prisoners given up to Sir John Williams, "March 10th;" but the following is the minute of the Council Book on the subject: "At Westminster the vij day of Marche a^{no} 1553 [1554]. A Letter to the Livetenaunte of the Towere to deliver to Sr John Williams the bodies of the late Archbishops of Canterbury, Doctor Ridley, and Mr. Lattymyer, to be by him conveyed to Oxeford." This extract from the Book at the Privy Council Office, Whitehall, will be also found in Harl. MSS. Num. 643, fol 20 b, whence it is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 177.

Page 439, line 16.]—Foxe in his first edition, pp. 931—936, gives another and more succinct account of the Oxford Disputation, which will be found reprinted among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. III.

Page 439, line 22. "*About the 10th of March.*"—Foxe here says "April," though higher up he has said that orders for their removal had been given by the Council a month before. (See the Note next but one preceding this.) A letter from Lever to Bullinger, dated Geneva April 11th, 1554, says: "*Alius tamen, qui a Londo (sic) decessit 13 die Martii, hodie hic mihi retulit, quod in seditione per Voyetum [Wyat] concitatâ nulli sacrifici, &c. . . . Atque præterea asseverabat se pro certo audivisse Cranmerum Cantuariensem episcopum, Ridleum Londinensem episcopum, Latimerum concionatorem celeberrimum, et Halesium jurisperitum pium, omnes hos pariter traductos a Londino ad Oxoniam fuisse, ut ibi a dominis doctoribus illius academize condemnati hæreseos igni (sic) cumburerentur.*" (Reformation Letters, Parker Society, 1846, No. 77.) We may safely say, with Ridley himself, in a letter to Grindall (*infra*, vol. vii. p. 434), that they came to Oxford "a little before Easter," which fell in that year on March 25th (see Nicolas's Tables).

Page 439, line 28.]—The following extract from the Register of Convocation, and the Bonner Register, fol. 339, is printed in Wilkins, iv. p. 94: "Quinto die Aprilis prolocutor Hugo Weston a præside convocationis [Episcopo London] admittebatur: ibi etiam tractabatur de eligendis quibusdam de clero, qui totius vice cleri mitterentur Oxoniam, ad tractandum cum domino Cranmero, domino Ridleo, nuper prætenso episcopo London., et Hugone Latymere, olim episc. Wigorn., de quibusdam articulis religionem concernentibus. Et delecti sunt doctor Weston, Oglethorp, Chedaye, Seton, Cole, Jeffery, Fecknam, et Harpesfield ad effectum prædictum. Et quia prædictus prolocutor non potuit adesse dictæ convocationi, substituit N. Harpesfield et Joh. Wimbleseye conjunctim et divisim in loco suo."

Page 439, line 15 from the bottom.]—The following are the Articles, as given in the official Report, Harl. MSS. No. 3642; also in the Grace of the University of Cambridge, printed in Strype and Wilkins:

1. "In sacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi conceptum de Virgine Maria. Item, naturalis ejusdem sanguis.
2. "Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et hominis.
3. "In missa est vivificum Ecclesie sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile."

Page 440, line 16. "*The aforesaid letters.*"—These two documents are printed in Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, Appendix, Nos. 77, 78; and from thence by Wilkins, iv. p. 98: the doctors delegated by the University appear from these two documents to have been Dr. John Young, vice-chancellor, successor of Ridley as master of Pembroke; Dr. William Glynn, president of Queen's; Dr. Richard Atkinson, provost of King's; Dr. Cuthbert Scott, master of Christ's; Dr. Thomas Watson, master of St. John's; Dr. Alban Langdale, of St. John's;

and Dr. Thomas Sedgwyke, of Trinity, regius professor of divinity in Cambridge. Dr. John Seton, of St. John's, was sent by the Convocation. Dr. Langdale was parson of Buxted in Sussex, and in that character appears a persecutor of the Gospel at vol. viii. p. 352, &c.; and again at p. 367, &c.

Page 440, line 22.]—For "Wakecline" (or "Wakeelyn," ed. 1570,) the edition of 1563, p. 936, reads "Wakefield."

Page 440, line 30.]—For "chaumber" all the editions except 1563 read "keeping,"—"Doctor Seton and Watson's keeping."

Page 440, line 32.]—Dr. William Tresham had been commissary according to Neve and Wood from 1532 to 1546, and vice-chancellor the latter part of 1550, and a considerable part of 1551. Richard Martiall was made vice-chancellor Oct. 3d, 1552: "Absentis vices gerebat Dr. Tresham." (Wood.) Martiall was reappointed 1553, but Walter Wryght is mentioned as such April 4th, and Dr. Tresham (who was about that time prisoner in the Fleet) as commissary Nov. 6th. John Warner was nominated as vice-chancellor by Martiall April 15th, 1554, and soon after admitted. (Wood.) It is plain, therefore, that Tresham ought here to have been called "*commissary*," especially as Martiall is called "*vice-chancellor*" at p. 443. On "junkery," in next line, see the Addenda.

Page 440, line 40. "*As was said afore.*"—This is not true in any edition except that of 1563, which in the first Account of the Disputation, reprinted at the end of this Appendix, No. III., had said (p. 936): "After the sentence pronounced they were separated the one from the other: videlicet, my lord of Canterbury was put in Bocardo: Dr. Ridley was caried to maister Shrivs house: maister Latimer in maister Bailifs." The foregoing words are inserted at p. 534 of this volume, followed by a short paragraph which forms the termination of the first Account in the edition of 1563.

Page 441, top line.]—All the editions except the first read "roabes" or "robes" in the text and margin.

Page 441, line 9. "*Being gremials.*"—This is, if we may judge by its absence from various dictionaries, Todd's Johnson, the Promptuarium Parvulorum, Halliwell, &c., a very rare word in English. It is explained by Adelung, "*Qui est de gremio seu sodalitate cujusdam ordinis.*" Fuller's Church History, book viii. sect. 3, § 45, has: "as if admitted *gremials* in the university."

Page 442, line 27. "*Willing him to write his mind of them that night.*"—The official report says, that Cranmer "primo eosdem articulos in forma verborum qua concipiuntur veros non esse asseruit; nihilo minus aiebat, quod si copiam eorundem articulorum et tempus perpendendi eosdem concederemus, redigere vellet in scriptis ejus ad eosdem responsum, nobisque in crastino tunc consequente die transmittere." See the note next but one following this.

Page 443, line 15 from the bottom. "*Had a great dinner.*"—The edition of 1563 adds, "the byble being red at a deske in the myddle of the Hall by a scholer with a verye loude voyce, grace after diner likewyse sayde, with an atempe [anthem] in pricksong." Two lines lower, for "whither Dr." that edition reads "and Dr.;" and four lines lower, "at eight or soon after."

Page 443, line 14 from the bottom. "*Dr. Cranmer sent annoer of his mind upon the articles in writing.*"—This was according to previous arrangement: see the note next but one preceding this. The first Explication, given by Foxe at p. 445, is evidently that which Cranmer delivered in on Sunday night; for the official report only adverts to *two* answers to the articles as given by Cranmer in writing: and the MS. in the Cambridge Library (MSS. Kk. 5. 14) and Foxe's Latin account (Ed. Bas. 1559, p. 641, which professes to follow "ipsum notarium archetypum") only mention *one* paper as delivered during the Disputation: the answer of Sunday, as given in the Cambridge MS., contains some expressions not to be found in either of the "Explications."

Page 443, line 9 from the bottom. "*Met together at Exeter college; and so they went.*"—The first edition reads, "went to Exeter college, beynde the scholes, and there taryed in the garden a quarter of an hower for the Vice-chancellor, and then they went."

Page 443, bottom. "*Marshal vice-chancellor.*"—See the note on p. 440, line 32.

Page 444, line 3. "*Disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English,*" &c.] The official report states that the Disputation was previously arranged to take place "*scholastico more, atque concisis argumentis, et sermone Latino.*" The Cambridge MS. represents *Cole* as first departing from the rule. Cranmer complained of the character of the Disputation to the Council. his letter is given at p. 533 of this volume: see also Ridley's complaint at p. 532; the letter of certain preachers, &c. at p. 550; and Hooper's letter at p. 664.

Page 444, line 5.]—The edition of 1563 here says, "of Cambridge began: and Dr. Scotte could not be suffered to dispute. The Vicechancellor of Cambridge also was interrupted as before."

Page 445, line 15. "*You have already given up unto us,*" &c.]—"Ad nos transmisisti," Lat. Ed. p. 640. The account in the Latin edition breaks off at the next line, "disagreeth from the catholic," and proceeds at once with the Explication at the bottom of this page, "In the assertions," &c. The intermediate passage in the English editions is plainly only another version of the argument in next page, following the *first* Explication and introducing the *second*. (See note on p. 443, line 14 from the bottom.) The Latin of the first Explication is printed in the Latin edition and in Jenkyns.

Page 446, note (2).]—Collier also prints the original of this second Latin explication, apparently from the same source. There is another MS. copy of it in C. C. C. Cambridge, intituled, "*Præfatio et protestatio Thomæ Cranmer scripta et tradita propria manu in schola publica.*" A similar title is prefixed to an English translation of it by Grindal, Harl. MSS. 422, fol. 44.

Page 451, note (1).]—According to the Cambridge MS. the argument up to this point had been conducted in Latin, and *Cole* first broke through the rule of the disputatio "*Sermone Latino.*"

Page 452, note (3).]—The scholar of Oxford, in the other account of the Disputation printed at the end of this Appendix, says, that "this was the strongest argument which was thought to blank him."

Page 460, note (5).]—The Cambridge MS. puts this accusation into the mouth of Weston. As he pursued the matter, Dr. Jenkyns thinks it natural to suppose that he started it.

Page 461, margin. "*Thus far was their talk in English.*"—The Cambridge MS. says that the greater part of their previous talk had been in Latin, and that their discussion on the reading of Hilary was in English. It adds, that the arguments between Young and Cranmer were in Latin.

Page 461, line 30.]—Dr. Smith had mistranslated this passage of Hilary in his Assertion of the Sacrament of the Altar; and had been exposed by Cranmer in his Defence and Answer to Gardiner. This, Dr. Jenkyns thinks, was the reason why Smith held his peace. See *infra*, vol. viii. pp. 708, 709, for an interesting anecdote in connexion with this dispute about the reading in Hilary.

Page 461, line 9 from the bottom. "*Let it be so,*" &c.]—This answer does not appear in the first edition of Foxe, and looks like a jocose remark of his own.

Page 464, line 29. "*He doth not call the Spirit,*" &c.]—In the Cambridge MS. this answer is attributed to *Cole*, and the following argument from Ambrose to Weston.

Page 465, line 7.]—"Fit sanguis, id est, ostenditur sanguis. Ex hoc responso orta sunt sibila." (Cambridge MS.)

Page 465, line 32. "*Similitude of his blood.*"—The Cambridge MS. here adds, "*West. Are ye not weary? Cran. No, sir.*"

Page 467, note (3).]—The charge in the text is made again by Ward against Ridley, p. 490. The charge was quite unfounded.

Page 468, line 7 from the bottom. "*Your book omitteth many things there.*"—The Cambridge MS. gives an answer of Cranmer, "Because I would not write all that long treatise."

Page 468, line 4 from the bottom. "*The truth overcometh.*"—The Cambridge MS. adds, that Cranmer from respondent, demanded, according to the usage of the schools, to be opponent: "*Cran. Oppono: vos respondete scripturis. West. Habebis aliam diem ad opponendum.*" This day was the following Thursday, April 19th.

Page 468, note (2).—Respecting this Catechism, see the note in this Appendix on p. 396.

Page 469, line 7.—A full account of this Dr. Smith is given by Strype in his "*Memorials*," Mary, chap. xxviii., and "*Life of Cranmer*," pp. 171, 172. It appears there that the offence which he had committed, and which caused him to flee into Scotland, was his endeavouring to excite opposition to P. Martyr at Oxford, putting him even in danger of his life; and his writing a book in favour of the "*Celibacy of the Clergy*" against Cranmer. This was in the year 1549. He wrote two letters from Scotland of apology to the archbishop, of which this is one, belonging to 1550.

Page 469, line 8. "*Touching which Dr. Smith, forsomuch as mention here happeneth . . . turned and returned.*"—The recantation here alluded to, or one of them at least, was put into print under the title, "*A godly and faythfull Retraction made and published at Paule's Crosse in London, the yere of our Lord God 1547, the 15 daye of May, by Mayster Richard Smyth, Dr. of divinitye; &c. Londini, 1547.*"

This rare tract is of only 16 leaves: Bishop Gardiner has made a smart reference to it above (see p. 40). Dr. Maitland pronounces it to be generally unknown: see p. 216 of "*A List of some early printed Books in the Archiep. Library, Lambeth, 1843*;" where there is a copy, and also in the Bodleian Collections. The following specimen of it is interesting:

"There be many thinges" (says Dr. Smith) "ascribed to thapostles, and called traditions deduced from the tyme of thapostles and read in the name of olde Authours, and set furth under the pretended title of their name, which be feyned and forged and notheng trew, full of superstition and untrewth, feyned by them, which wold magnify their owne power and auctoritie, as is the Epistles of Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus and Fabianus and other which are set furth by the byshop of Rome and his complices, which be forged, feyned and of none auctoritie nor to be beleved, but counterfeyted by theym: who with the color of antiquitie wolde magnify that usurped power of the byshop of Rome."

Farther on (the tract is unpagéd) we read:—"When I folowed myne own invention not directed by Scripture, I began as the nature of man is to wander, and at the last went cleane contrary to God's woord."

"Wherefore, I hertely exhort every man as touchyng matiers of faith to found the same upon God's certeyn, trew, and infallyble woordes; lest by doying the contrary, they fall into superstition, idolatry, and other manyfold errers, as I my self sometyme, and many other (although I doo not come hytber too accuse any man) yet I perceyve of late tyme have doone." (See Strype's *Memorials* under Edward VI. book i. chap. 6.)

Page 470, line 6.—The original Latin of Ridley's Disputation is reprinted by the Parker Society (Ridley's Remains, Appendix I.) from the Latin edition of Foxe, Bas. 1559.

Page 484, line 19 from the bottom. "*We have Egesippus and Linus against you,*" &c.]—The good Doctor, who was master of Whittington College, afterwards gave some account of his exploits on this occasion, which it may be well to produce from a small volume, of course not commonly known. The writer was fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and subsequently rector of Hackney. "This doctrine taught Doctor Smith. I heard him in Whittington college in London, in Queen Maries daies; he moved manie affections, and told the tale on this wise. Maisters, saith he, you are in a great terrour [? error] as concerning that blessed sacrament, and all your trust was in Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer:¹ as for Latimer, he said in open disputation in Oxford, that he had no learning in that matter, but out of Cranmer's book: besides this I disputed with Latimer twentie yeres agoe; and then he had no learning.

¹ [See vol. vii. p. 538.]

As for Cranmer he said that his learning came from Ridley. And as for Ridley, I disputed with him myself now at Oxford the other daie, and I proved my argument thus :—*Ille, cui Christus obviavit Romæ, fuit Romæ*: He whom Christ met at Rome, was at Rome. But Christ met Peter at Rome: ergo Peter was at Rome. By this argument I prove two things, and singular misteries of our faith. First that Peter was at Rome, against them that clatter that Peter was never at Rome, and *Linus* also who was Peter's successor at Rome. Secondlie, that if Peter met Christ bodilie, as *Abdias* reporteth, and which I am sure is true, or else such an ancient and holie father would never have written it: then consequently he may be as well bodily in the blessed sacrament, as he was met bodily. To this Ridley stood like a block, and, feeling himself convicted, answered nothing. Then said I, *Cur non respondes heretice, hereticorum hereticissime*. Did I not handle him well? Then denied he the minor, which I proved thus: Christ met Peter going out of Rome, and said, good morrowe Peter, whither goest thou? Peter answered, good morrowe good man, whither goest thou? Then said Christ, I go to Rome to suffer. What? saith Peter, I trow, unless I take my markes amiss, you are Jesus Christ: good Lord, how do you? I am glad I have met you here. Then said he to Peter, go back and suffer, or else I must, *et pro te et me*. When Ridley had heard this my proof and *Abdias* authority, a doctor ancient and irrefragable [see vol. i. p. 101, note; and Gibbings's Reprint of Index Expurg. Vaticanus, Pref. xxiii. Dublin, 1837], he answered never a word. And thus I confuted Ridley in the audience of a thousand, that he had not one word to say: yet you say that Christ was never on earth since the ascension bodily: beleieve with me that he is under form of bread and wine. Let this argument of mine confound you, as it did Ridley your chiefe champion. [!] Thus much doctor Smith, and more, in Whittington colledge church in London, standing in the street called tower Royall, a little above the three cranes in the Vintree." (Chr. Carleile's Discourse of Peter's life, peregrination and death; London, imprinted by R. Ward, 1582, pp. 18, 19.) See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. col. 336, for a notice of Carleile. (edit. Bliss.)

Page 485, top. "*The story of Linus is not of so great authority.*"—The bishop might have set aside this authority more decisively, as even many papal writers of eminence scruple not, in their better judgment, to reject the books attributed to this author. "In biblioth. vet. Patrum, et in *Historia Christiana per Laurentium de la Barre, impress. Parisiis 1583, habentur duo libri, quorum prior habet titulum, 'B. Lini Rom. Pontif. de Passione B. Petri et Pauli ad Orientales Ecclesias liber primus:' alter hunc, 'De Passione B. Pauli ad Eccles. Orient. liber secundus.'* Citantur in *Legenda aurea*, ut probetur, Petrum magnum instituisse certamen cum Simone Mago; a Sixto Senensi et Salmerone, ut fidem conciliant Epistolis Pauli ad Senecam et Senecæ ad Paulum; et a Coccio, ut probet animas Sanctorum viventibus aliquando apparere, et ignota quædam revelare." Cooke's "*Censura quorundam Scriptorum* (Helmstad. 1683)," p. 26, where the opinions of D'Espence, Baronius, Bellarmine, and others are quoted. Thé following is the most recent opinion:—"Sub nomine S. hujus Pontificis circumferuntur libri duo de passione divorum Petri et Pauli. At hos pariter libros S. Lino Papæ longe post, et per injuriam, suppositos esse, Bellarminus, Pagius, Dupinius et omnes hodie eruditi censent; quia nemo veterum de iis meminit, et multa omnino falsa, atque Apostolis illis indigna continent." Lumper *Hist. Theologico-critica de vita, scriptis, SS. Patrum*; tom. i. p. 468.

Page 487, note (6).—Respecting this Catechism, see the note in this Appendix on p. 396.

Page 499, line 19. "*I bring another place out of the Council of Nice.*"—See the note next following this.

Page 499, line 23. "*This canon is not in the Council of Nice.*"—The bishop is right; but it makes its appearance in the proceedings of the *Second Nicene Council*, Actio vi.: in Labbe, tom. vii. col. 447 and 837:—Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ποτε τῶν σαλπύγγων τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἀποστόλων, ἢ τῶν δοιδίμων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἡμῶν θύσαν, τὴν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίας γνωμένην, εἶπεν ἐλκόνα τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

See Aubertin, de Euchar. Sacram. p. 914 (Edit. Latin. 1654) upon the contradictory affirmations of this notable council.

Page 500, line 15 from the bottom. "*Blow the morte.*"—The Emmanuel MS. (1. 2. 8. No. 10) and Foxe's first edition (p. 977) here read "mote," altered in the subsequent editions into "note:" but there can be no doubt that "mote" is for "môte" or "morte:" to "blow the mort" is a hunting phrase, illustrated by Nares in his Glossary: in the Gentleman's Recreations, 1721, p. 67, in the "Directions at the Death of Buck or Hart," we read: "then having *blown the mort*, and all the company come in, &c. [then the cutting up is described]: the concluding ceremony is, if a buck a double, if a stag a treble, *mort is blown* by one, and then a whole *recheat* in concert by all that have horns." Green's Card of Fancy has: "He that *bloweth the mort* before the death of the buck, may very well miss of his fees."

Page 501, line 18.]—Strype (Mem. III. i. 375) observes that "Foxe's copy of Latimer's protestation is very imperfect, and many mistakes made, and many things omitted." He accordingly in his Appendix, No. XXXIV. supplies a better from the Foxian MSS.

Page 502, line 6.]—"Officers" is the reading in all the editions of Foxe except that of 1576, where and in Strype it is corrupted into "officers."

Page 502, line 19 from the bottom.]—The old editions of Foxe and Strype here read—"more than one, two, or three hours together [to either, Str.] without interruption:" but the Foxe of 1684 for "one" reads "once;" and a copy of the Protestation in Caius College, Cambridge, reads—"more than two or three, &c."

Page 509, line 27.]—It is proper to remark, that *Diaconi* is the word used in the passage referred to, not *Sacerdotis*. (See Chrysostom, hom. 21, § 4, upon the Acts.)

Page 509, line 11 from the bottom. "*The same Augustine said mass for his mother.*"—Reference is made by Dr. Milner (End of Controversy) "to St. Augustine's account of the death of his mother Monica. On her death-bed she had entreated him to remember her soul at the altar; and in compliance with this request, after her decease he performed this duty in order, as he declares, 'to obtain the pardon of her sins.' (Aug. Confess. ix. c. 13, § 35). But what can this have to do with the point in question? In the first place purgatory is not a place of pardon, but of punishment. Nor only is Augustine silent respecting any temporal pains, but he adds:—'I believe that thou hast already done what I ask;' so that his prayer could not be for her release from the Papal Tartarus." (Elliott's Delineation of Roman Catholicism, p. 277, Lond. 1844.)

Page 515, line 12 from the bottom.]—The first edition reads "philosopher" for "sophister."

Page 519, note (3). "*Ad Cæsarium Monachum.*"—See tom. iii. p. 897, edit. 1835; also Cranmer's Works, ii. 325, and an edition of the "*Epistola ad Cæsarium*" by James Bannage, Trajecti, 1687, pp. 23, 33.

Page 520, line 37. "*Thus ye have heard.*"—A long extract from Foxe's Latin Edition will be found at the end of this volume, Documents, No. VIII., which does not appear to have been transferred to the English volumes. It gives Foxe's general view of the Oxford Disputations.

Page 526, note (9).]—Ridley numbers this the 2d Apology of Justin, and so do the printed copies; but in Eusebius it is correctly numbered the 1st (see vol i. p. 125, note (1)): the same remark applies to note (4) in next page.

Page 531, line 9 from the bottom. "*To Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford.*"—According to Peshall's account of Oxford, R. Atkinson was mayor in 1548-9.

Page 532, line 1.]—Foxe's text reads erroneously "by your appointment."

Page 532, middle.]—The English copy of Ridley's "Report" as given in the edition of 1563, is so much closer to the Latin than in any subsequent edition, that it is printed among the Documents at the end of this Appendix, No. IV.

Page 534, note (2). "*Bocardo. A prison so called.*"—"The north gate of the city remembered in St. Frid's Days an. 700 and before . . . in after time fell into the hands of the mayor and bailiffs, who made it a common prison." (Peshall's Account of Oxford, pp. 197-8).

Page 535, line 11. "*Dr. Weston . . . took his journey up to London.*"—The following extract from the Convocation and Bonner Registers is in Wilkins, iv. p. 94: "*Vicesimo septimo ejusdem mensis (post diversas continuationes, in quibus nihil actum est memoratu dignum) post aliquales tractatus et colloquia de reformatione status cleri in convocatione habita, comparuerunt in domo capitulari S. Pauli London. prolocutor et alii doctores, viz. theologiæ professores et legum utriusque universitatis nuper ad universitatem Oxoniæ destinati, et præsentaverunt processum super examinatione Thomæ Cranmer, Nicolai Ridley, et Hugonis Latymer per eosdem doctores ex speciali commissione eis directâ habit. et fact. sub sigillo universitatis Oxon. ac subscriptione notariorum publicorum una cum quibusdam aliis scriptis.*"

Page 535, line 25]—"All my three answers" is the reading in the first edition, the later ones read "all mine answers;" "now," four lines lower, is from the same source.

Page 535, line 34.]—Dr. Jenkyns has printed another copy of Cranmer's Letter to the Council from the Emmanuel Library at Cambridge, which differs considerably from Foxe's, but very little from that in Coverdale's "Letters of the Martyrs." ("Cranmer's Remains," i. p. 365.)

Page 536, line 15 from the bottom. "*Other things which happened in this realm,*" &c.]—Most of the incidents mentioned in the next thirty pages appear in the Council Book (see the note above on p. 392), Holinshead, Stowe, or Strype.

Page 536, line 5 from the bottom.]—The edition of 1563, p. 1000, here says, "returning again to the month of August the year before, viz. 1553. In the whiche moneth of August Masse first seemed to be attempted in London." Then follows the passage cited in the note on p. 538, line 3.

Page 537, bottom.]—The example thus set by the Queen in patronizing the popish ritual very much tended to the general restoration of it: the Mass does not seem to have been regularly authorized till December, see p. 542. But the first edition of Foxe, p. 1000, says, "In the whiche moneth of August Masse first seemed to be attempted in London." In a letter of John Rowe, dated London, August 24th, we read that, "As for altares and masses [they] are in bildinge faster than ever they weare put downe." In another of William Dalby, September 1st, "All the altares at Poules are up, and all the oulde service sayd in Latin, and almoste throughe out London the same." Another letter of September 5th says, "The masse is verry riffe:" and another of September 8th says, "Hears is no newese but candelsticks, books, bells, censores, crosses, and pixes. . . . The highe autler in Poules church is up againe elevated 5 or 6 stapes above the mayne; but for makinge haste the worke fell. I hope it wilbe a token of some ill chaunce to come again, which God send quickly." (Harleian MSS. No. 553, fol. 143.)

Page 538, line 3.]—In the edition of 1563, p. 1000, occurs here the following entry, which is omitted in all subsequent editions: "The 11th day of August An. 1553 did a priest say masse at S. Barthelmews in Smithfield; but before he had half done, he was glad to take him to his legges; for as he was lifting up the bread, there were stones slong at him, and one hit him between the shoulders, as the bread was over his head; so that he would not tary, to make an end of his maske."

Page 538, line 9. "*Veron.*"—Foxe, from the Council Book, prints this name "Vernon" at p. 392. But in the Episcopal Registers of London he is invariably called "Veron." He is said to have been a Frenchman, "Senonois" i. e. of Sens. He was ordained priest by Ridley August 24th, 1551 (Ridley Register, fol. 320), as "Johannes Veroneus, Senon. dioc." He was admitted rector of St. Alphege, London Wall, January 3d, 1552 ("Johannes Veroneus, clericus," Ridley Register, fol. 316): he was deprived under Mary in 1554 (his successor being appointed June 8th, "per legitimam deprivationem Johannis Veron. clerici conjugati," Bonner Reg. fol. 453.) He was presented by Elizabeth to the prebend of Mora in St. Paul's November 8th, 1559 (Newcourt); to

the rectory of St. Martin Ludgate March 8th, 1560 ("Johannes Veron, sacra Theologia Professor," Grindal Reg. fol. 113, 131: Newcourt misprints his name in this instance as "Heron"); and to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's October 21st, 1560 ("Johannes Veron, clericus," Grindal Reg. fol. 117). Strype calls him "a Frenchman by birth, but a learned Protestant" (Mem. iii. chap. 5), and "one of the eminent preachers at this time, and a writer:" he states that he preached at Paul's Cross before the mayor and aldermen September 17th, 1559, and that "he died April 9th, 1563, and was buried the next day after, being Easter Even." (Annals, i. chaps. 16, 34). See the Index to Machyn's Diary for several curious allusions to Veron. A list of his works will be found in Lowndes's Bibliographical Manual.

Page 538, line 28. "*On Sunday the 20th of August, Dr. Watson,*" &c.]—This is the Dr. Watson who disputed at Oxford the next April. The present statement is confirmed by a contemporary. (See Harleian MSS. No. 353, fol. 141.)

"22 August,
1555."

"By a letter writtene in London by William Dalby is signefied one Sondaye laste was a sermone at Paules Crosse made by one doctor Watsons: theare was at his sermone the marques of Winchester the earle of Bedforde the earle of Pembrock the lord Wentworthe the lord Riche they did sitte wheare my lord mayer and the aldermen wear wonte to site my lord maiore sittinge uppermoste, thear was also in the windowe overe the mayor the ould bushope of London and diveres othere, thear was 120 of the garde that stooode round aboute the Crosse with their halberds to gard the preacher and to apprehend them that would stuire. His sermons was no more eloquent than edefieng, I meane it was nether eloquent nor edefieng in my opinione for he medled not withe the Gospelle nor Epistle nor noe parte of Scripture. After he had red his theame he entred into a by matter and so spent his tyme 4 or 5 of the cheefe poynts of his sermone that I cane remember I will as breffely as I can reporte unto you: vilz. he requierde the people not to believe the preachers, but that ther faith should be firme and sure because theare is suche vaneties amongeste them, and yf any mane doubt of his faithe let him goe to the Scriptures, and also to the olde interpreteres of the doctores, and interprite it not after their owne brayne, he wished the people to have no newe faithe, nor to build no newe temple, but to keepe the ould saythe, and edifye the ould Temple againe. He blamed the people in a manor for that heartofore they would have nothing that was manes tradisyone, and nowe they can be contented to have manes tradisyon, shewing that in the first yere of the raigne of our sovergaigne lorde king Edward the 6. theare was a lawe established that in the sacramente theare was the bodie and bloode of Christe not really but spiritually, and the nexte yere after they established another lawe that thear was the body of Christe nether spirytually nor really. Thes 2 in themselves are contraries thearfor they cannot be bothe trewe. He shewed that we should ground our faithe uppon gods word which is scripture and scripture is the byble which we have in Hebrue Greeke and Lattine and nowe translated into Englishe: but he doubte the translatyon was not true. Also he said theare hathe byne in his tyme that he hathe seene xx Catechesmes and every one varinge from other in some points, and well he said they mighte be all false but they could not be all true, and thus persuadin the people that they had followed menes tradishyones and had gone a straye, wishin them to come home agayne and reedefy the ould Temple. Thus with many other persuasions he spent the tyme tyll xj of the clocke and ended."

Also from another letter (in the same MS. fol. 143) written in London by John Rowe, August 24th, we learn: "Uppon Sondaye the 20 of Auguste theare preached at Poules Crosse one named Wattes, and to keepe and preserve him from the enemyes theare weare with their holbards about 200 of the garde, the lyke was never seene; and as for altares and masses are in bildinge faster than ever they weare put downe."

Page 538, line 13 from the bottom.]—This proclamation is given at p. 390, supra, dated August 18th.

Page 539, line 10.]—Respecting this Purgation, see the note on p. 394, and Dr. Jenkyns's note, Cranmer's Remains, iv. p. 1. The following notice of the subject is taken in a contemporary letter dated London September 8th, Har-

leian MSS. No. 353, fol. 143 b: "The bushop of Canterbury is the ould mane he was . . . The bushope of Canterbury hath made declaratione in wrytyng and sent it to be delivered abroade to the answeringe of all suche as have reported him to be the cause that masse was said in Canterbury and that he offered to saye masse before the queene him selfe, in which declaration he sayth that he was never consenting; that mass should be said in Canterbury, ne in no other place. And he proffereth to on doctor Peetor and 2 or 3 others to prove that this our laste order is more nigher to the institutione of Christe, than the masse is."

Page 539, note (2.) "*Thornton*."—This name is more correctly spelt "*Thornden*." Henry Wharton has carefully distinguished him, as *Thornden*, from a *Thornton*, suffragan to Archb. Warham: see Strype's *Memoirs of Cranmer*, vol. ii. p. 1049, edit. Oxford, 1812.

Page 540, line 8.]—See the note above on p. 393.

Page 540, line 10.]—See the note on p. 394.

Page 541, line 13. "*On the Sunday after, being the 15th of October*," &c.]—See this paragraph confirmed at p. 614.

Page 541, line 24.]—As October 15th, mentioned above, certainly fell on a Sunday in 1553, Foxe's "20" must be a misprint for "22:" but it so stands in all the editions. The next paragraph states, that the week following the disputations began in the Convocation: these were *appointed* to commence on Friday, Oct. 20th, but they did not *actually* commence till Monday the 23d (see pp. 396, 397): and it is very natural to suppose that Weston would improve the intervening Sunday, Oct. 22d, to prepossess the minds of the public.

Page 542, line 4.]—By the "Round parish in Cambridge" is doubtless meant the Round Church, as it is still popularly called.

Page 543, line 3.]—For "the 12th of January" the edition of 1563, p. 1000, says "the xiiij day of January;" and makes no mention of the next entry.

Page 543, line 8.]—On Dr. Crome, see note in this Appendix on p. 588.

Page 544, line 9. "*And, the second day after*."—It has been necessary to correct two inaccuracies in this passage:—

(1.) Foxe here says, "*and the next day after*;" the effect of which is to place the arrival of the duk of Suffolk and his brother in the Tower to Sunday February 11th; whereas that occurred on the Saturday: for Fabian mentions their arrest by the earl of Huntington as having taken place February 6th; and Stow says:—

"The tenth of Februarie the earle of Huntington and other gentlemen, and to the number of 300 horsemen, brought into the Towre as prisoners the duke of Suffolke, and the lord John Grey his brother, from Coventry, where the D. had remained three dayes after his taking in the house and custody of Christopher Warren, Alderman there:" all which is confirmed by Robert Swifte, writing thus to the earl of Shrewsbury on Monday, February 12th.—(Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 190.)—"The erle of Huntynghton, furnyshed w^t. IIC horsemen w^t. staves and bowes, browght throwrow London upon Saturdaye at afternone the Dewke of Suffolke and the Lord Iohn his brother, and so conducted them to the Towre."

(2.) Two lines lower, Foxe says, "how the day before, which was the 11th of the said month, Lord William Howard and Sir Edward Hastings were sent for the Lady Elizabeth;" whereas Mr. Tytler, in his "*Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*" (vol. ii. p. 426), prints a letter from the State Paper Office, which, as curious and bearing on the point, is here reprinted:—

"The Lord Admiral, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwaleys, to the Queen.

"Orig. St. Paper Off. Domestic, 11th Feb. 1553-4.

"In our humble wise. It may please your Highness to be advertized, that yesterday, immediately upon our arrival at Ashridge, we required to have access unto my Lady Elizabeth's Grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your Highness's letter; and I, the Lord Admiral, declared the effect of your Highness's pleasure, according to the credence given to us, being before

advertized of her estate by your Highness's physicians, by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such, that, without danger of her person, we might well proceed to require her in your Majesty's name (all excuses set apart) to repair to your Highness with all convenient speed and diligence.

"Whereunto we found her Grace very willing and conformable; save only that she much feared her weakness to be so great that she should not be able to travel and to endure the journey without peril of life, and therefore desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength; but in conclusion, upon the persuasion as well of us as of her own council and servants, whom we assure your Highness we have found very ready and forward to the accomplishment of your Highness's pleasure in this behalf, she is resolved to remove her hence to-morrow towards your Highness, with such journeys as by a paper herein enclosed your Highness shall perceive: further declaring to your Highness that her grace much desireth, if it might stand with your Highness's pleasure, that she may have a lodging at her coming to the court, somewhat further from the water than she had at her last being there; which your physicians, considering the state of her body, thinketh very meet, who have travailed very earnestly with her Grace, both before our coming and after, in this matter.

"And after her first day's journey one of us shall await upon your Highness to declare more at large the whole estate of our proceedings here. And, even so, we shall most humbly beseech Christ, long to preserve your Highness in honour, health, and the contentation of your godly heart's desire.

"From Ashridge, the 11th of February, at four of the clock in the afternoon.

"Your Highness's most humble and bounden
Servants and subjects,

W. HOWARD.

EDWARD HASTINGS.

T. CORNWALETS."

Enclosure.

"The order of my lady Elizabeth's Grace voyage to the court:—

"MONDAY.—Imprimis, to Mr. Cooke's, vi. miles.

TUESDAY.—Item, to Mr. Pope's, viii. miles.

WEDNESDAY.—To Mr. Stamford's, vii. miles.

THURSDAY.—To Highgate, Mr. Cholmeley's house, vii. miles.

FRIDAY.—To Westminster, v. miles."

Swift's letter also to the earl of Shrewsbury, above referred to, under date of Monday, Feb. 12, says:—"Three days ago [or Saturday, Feb. 10], the lady Elizabeth was sent for, but as yet she is not come, whatever the let is." He also says, "This day lady Jane was beheaded. Also this day, the earl of Devonshire was sent to the Tower."

It is pretty plain that Elizabeth was too ill for the above plan to be adhered to, for she did not arrive in town till February 22 or 23 (see Appendix to vol. viii. note on p. 606); and probably it is to the Lord Admiral's considerate conduct on *this* occasion that we are to ascribe the good opinion of him which Elizabeth expressed to the count de Feria, November 10, 1558, just before Mary's death. (See *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. vi. p. 255. Madrid, 1832.)

(3.) That Sir H. Iseley and the others mentioned by Foxe were brought to the Tower on Sunday the 11th, is confirmed thus by Stow:—

"The 11 day Sir Henry Ialey, who had fled, was brought into the Tower prisoner in an old friese coat, and an old paire of bosen, all his apparell not worth 4s. The same day came in two of the Culpeppers, one Cromer, and Thomas Rampton, the duke of Suffolkes secretary."

Page 544, line 10 from the bottom. "*On Friday, the 23d of February.*"—This date is correct: see the note above on p. 425. The Cotton MS. Vitell. F. 5, most unaccountably dates the beheading of the duke of Suffolk "the xxij day of March."

Page 548, note (1).—The editions of 1563, 1570, 1576, read correctly, "*the 7th of March*"; the subsequent editions corrupt this into "17th," evidently with a view of making the date square with the opening of the next paragraph, which (except in the first edition, where it is wanting) opens: "On

the Sunday following, being the 18th of March." The Queen's precept was sent to the lord mayor on Sunday, March 4th, and the lord mayor's precept to the aldermen on Monday, March 5th: see the document itself *supra*, p. 429; from which it appears that Wednesday, March 7th (correct by Nicolas's Tables), was the day appointed for the inhabitants of each Ward to appear before their alderman, not the day on which the command was issued, as this paragraph seems rather to imply.

Page 548, note (2).]—This and the next paragraph are not in the edition of 1563. That the text should make the Sunday following the 7th of March to be the 18th (as the second and third editions do) can only be explained by supposing, that Foxe was quoting the exact words of some chronicle, and omitted some intervening dates; or that Elizabeth really went to the Tower March 11th, Passion Sunday, instead of Palm Sunday, March 18th; all the historians, however, seem to concur in saying March 18th. (See more on this subject in the Appendix to vol. viii. note on p. 608.)

Among Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. ii. p. 254, is one from Elizabeth to Mary, on being ordered to the Tower, without date.

Page 549, line 14.]—Edward Courtenay was eldest son of Henry Courtenay, late marquis of Exeter and earl of Devonshire, who was beheaded in 1539-40. Edward Courtenay had lately been restored to his father's forfeited dignity of earl of Devonshire. The historians sometimes erroneously call him marquis of Exeter. (Lodge's Illustr. of British History, vol. i. p. 190.) See a notice respecting him in the note above on p. 397.

Page 550, top, "*William Thomas which how true it was, I have not to say.*"—As this instance of supposed disloyalty has been seized upon by Dr. J. Milner (see Dr. Townsend's Preliminary Dissertation, prefixed to this edition of Foxe) by way of parallel to the acts of multitudes of papally authorized traitors, it may be well to quote a few lines from Strype's Memorials (under Queen Mary, chap. 21) with reference to it.

"In May was arraigned and condemned and executed for treason William Thomas, a very wise man, clerk of the council to King Edward, and by him much valued and used; having writ several treatises of state policy for the use and exercise of the young king. The crime laid to his charge was that he designed the murder of the queen, or, as Bale writeth, of Stephen Gardiner, the lord chancellor.

"But as to Thomas's treason, I find these particulars of it; which is all that I can see alleged against him. Sir Nicholas Arnold, in trouble upon Wyat's plot, did say, that Sir Nicholas Throgmorton did shew him, that Thomas did devise, that one John Fitzwilliams should kill the queen; but, when this was charged upon Throgmorton, he utterly denied that he said any such thing, but that Arnold rather spake it to save himself, being charged with that matter, to transfer that devise upon the said Thomas. And to justify what he said, Throgmorton urged, that Fitzwilliams, who was hard by, might be called, to depose his knowledge of the matter. And Fitzwilliams appeared. But (as though it were likely to turn to the vindication of Throgmorton or Thomas) the attorney-general prayed the court, that Fitzwilliams might not be sworn nor suffered to speak. And he was forthwith commanded by Stamford, the judge, to depart the court. Yet not to conceal one thing more: when at Sir Thomas Wyat's trial Sir Edward Hastings had asked him, whether he was privy to a device to murder the queen, in a certain place, where she should walk? he answered that it was William Thomas his invention, whom he ever after abhorred for that cause. But it must be observed that Wyat said this when he was earnestly suing for the queen's pardon, and had spoken several other things rather acceptable to the court than true; as, declaring himself then much satisfied with the Spanish match, against which he had taken up arms, and falsely accusing the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to have been privy to his doings, which he revoked at his execution.

"Thomas was arraigned or condemned one day, and hastily executed the next. He made a right godly end; and in his imprisonment wrote many pious letters, exhortations and sonnets. He wrote a little book, 'Of the Vanity of the World,' printed, I think, 1545. He made an Italian Dictionary and Grammar at Padua, printed afterwards, 1567, by the appointment of Sir

Walter Mildmay; and a Short and Methodical History of Italy, printed 1549, reprinted 1561; and translated some books out of Italian.' (Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. iv. pp. 288—290, edit. 1816.)

Page 553, line 6 from the bottom.]—Foxe infra, vol. viii. p. 614, gives the same date, "May 19th," but there adds that it was Trinity Sunday, which fell on May 20th, and this is the date assigned in Cott. MS. Vitel. F. 5: "The xx. day of May, my Lady Elizabeth came out of the Tower." But Robert Swifte tells the earl of Shrewsbury, under date of "Sunday, May xx." "Of Saturdays at one of the cloke at after none, my Lady Elsathe was delyverd owt of the Towre by the lord Treasurer and my lord Chamberleyn, and went to Rychemonde by water furthw^t er she landyd, wher she shalbe attendid upon by sundrye of garde, and sune officers of every office in the quene's howse, bot how longe she shall continewe ther I knowe not." (Lodge, vol. i. p. 193.)

Page 554, note (2).]—Foxe himself also, in the edition of 1563, p. 1004, where we read: "The xix. of Julye did Philippe, Prynce of Spaine, and sonne and heyre unto Charles the Fifth then emperour, arrive at Southampton. And the fourth daye after, in the evenyng, he came to Wynchester, where (goynge to the church) he was honourably receyved of the Bishoppe, and a greates number of the nobles for that purpose appoynted. The nexte daye he mette with the Queene, with whom he hadde long and familer talke.

"And the xxv. daye, being Saint James day (the chiefe patrone of the Spanyards), maryage was honourably solemnized between them."

It is to be observed, however, that *St. Margaret's-day*, and the *Friday* in July 1554, would both fall on July 20th. (Nicolas's Tables.)

Page 556, line 17 from the bottom.]—"J. C." is James Caulfield" in the first edition.

Page 557, line 7. "*Other verses*," &c.]—The first edition reads here, "Other verses also answering to the former verses of the Byshop of Lincolne, made by J. F."

Page 562, line 21.]—These articles are in the Bonner Register, folios 365—370: whence they are printed by Wilkins.

Page 563, line 12.]—This Dr. Bricket had given evidence on Gardiner's trial: see p. 215 of this volume.

Page 563, line 31.]—William Sommers, or Sommer, was a buffoon or jester in Henry VIII.'s time. Ascham mentions a practice of his, here alluded to by Jocelyn: "They be not much unlike in this pointe to Wyll Sommers, the kinges foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he never so worshipfull a man, and never greatlye lokes for him which lurkes behinde an other man's backe, that hurte him in deede." (Ascham's Toxoph. p. 43.) See more in Nares's Glossary.

Page 565, middle.]—The Latin of this Mandate, from Bishop Bonner's Register, folio 357 verso, is printed among the Documents at the end of this volume, No. IX.

Page 566, line 3 from the bottom. "*Lady Bell of Bampton*."]—Dr. Tresham was vicar of Bampton. (Willis's Cathedrals, p. 449.)

Page 566, note (1).]—The following is from the first edition, p. 1007: "And for as much as mention is here made of Oxford, I cannot but something lament the state and condition of that University, which before in Wicliffe's time, being so forward in religion, and the first eye that gave lighte to al other places, to discerne true religion from blyndnesse and ignorance, now through the misgovernance of certayne heads, seemeth so prone and inclinable to blind superstition and all popery, that so sone as the Quene came in, they with the first were redye to masse; insomuch that the Quene comminge in July, the next moneth after (being the xv of August) upon the assumption day, masse was sayd, first in Marton college, then in Corpus Christi college, and then in New college, being compelled by no law notwithstanding to the same. Only Magdalene college and Christes church, misliking the heady rashnes of

them, did shew themselves more constante in thys matter then the rest. And here," &c.*

Page 566, note (2).] The following is from the first edition, pp. 1007-8:—"Who supplying the room of the subdean *under Doctoure Marshall* in Christ's Church, *upon a great zeale, more willful than witful, called his companys together into the back side of the quere, where he required certain of the prebendaries, which wer nothing so folishlye affected as he was, to be present and to assist him. In the number of the students were a great many grave men, well learned and wise. To them Doctoure Tresham made an exhortation, the which was so eloquently handled and with such arte persuasory, that although we be not able to attain to the perfitt grace thereof, yet in repeting the effect we thought it not good to defraud the reader of the fruite of so worthy a matter. The state of his oration was, to move them to come to the church, and there devoutly to behave themselves, and to here masse. Among other things contained in his oration, two were principal, which this auncient doctour most substantially handled. The one was a proof of al masse to be good, whiche he confirmed by an enumeration how many kindes of masses there wer. The other matter was a violent persuasion, to bring men to church for the commodity that should arise by it. For the first, he sayd that all masses were either of the Trinity, or of the Holy Ghost, or of our Ladye. Now the Trinity said he none wil deny but damnable heretikes: such as wer condemned by the holy general counsels. Wherefore the masse of the Trinity must needs be good. The masse of the Holy Ghost was never doubted of, of any Christian. Why? It is sayde before every generall counsell, and therefore it muste nedes be good. But peradventure ye doubt of the masse of oure Ladye. But I tell you, there is stufte inough in Scripture to prove it, and good stufte too. But stufte did he store them with none but with this. For the other part of his perswasion, he said,* there were a company of goodly copes," &c. Foxe was, in all probability, furnished with an abstract of the oration on these "important" matters by Jewel, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. (See his Life, prefixed to this Edition.)

Page 567, line 27.]—The first edition reads "procession in Paul's Church, with Masse, and *te Deum* solemnely songe."

Page 568, line 31. "*My lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador.*"—A good sketch of the policy of the Bishop of Rome, in the appointment of legates, is given by De Marca, a French Romanist, Archbishop of Paris, in his learned work, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*, lib. v. cap. 47, § 1. "*Reserato (writes he) retinendæ dominationis arcano per legationes, perpetuos in provinciis legatos ea de causâ instituendos esse censuerunt Romani Pontifices. Eam illis mentem fuisse, docet Honorii III. Epistola ad Rogerium Archiep. Pisanum, in qua verbis minime ambiguis scribit; Corsicam deferbuissæ a subjectione et obedientia sedis Apostolicæ ob desuetudinem Legatorum. Corsicana vero inquit (Tom. III. Italia Sacra, p. 441) tam prolixitate spatiarum quam negligentia pastorum, dominorum insolentia, et desuetudine Legatorum Sedis Apostolicæ, a subjectione et obedientia Romanæ ecclesiæ deferbuerat. Scilicet ea prima et potior cura Legatis erat, ut populos imbuerent reverentia Pontificum Romanorum, commendata successione Apostolorum et loci auctoritate, intentatis porro poenis adversus eos, qui majestatem Romanæ sedis minus colere viderentur.*"

Page 572, line 11 from the bottom. "*Whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions.*"—This may be confirmed if necessary from Spondanus: "*His interim Romam celeriter perlatis, propter lætissimæ rei nuncium supplicationes publicæ decretæ fuere, non in Urbe solum, sed per Italian universam, gratiis Deo agendis, ipso summo Pontifice sacra mysteria Romæ celebrante, et Indulgentiam ad modum Jubilæi per Christianum orbem in gratiarum actionem publicante.*" (Spondan. *Annales Eccles. an. 1554*, § 3.) Sanders had employed nearly the same language: see Raynaldi, *Annales ad an. 1554*, § 14.

Page 572, bottom.]—The title of Philip's letter runs thus in the first edition: "*A cople of a Letter of Philip King of Spain, and at that time of England also, written with his own hand to Pope Julius the third, touching the restoring of the Realm of England to the obedience of the Sea of Rome, translated out of the Spanish tongue, as it was first written, into the English tongue.*"

Page 572, note (3).]—See Raynaldi, *Annales ad an. 1554*, § 21. “*Con este despacho partio don Juan Manrique para Roma.*” (Seg. parte de la Vida del Emp. Carlos Quinto por Sandoval; book 31, § 9, an. 1551.)

Page 574, line 38.]—This archbishop of Conza in the kingdom of Naples (not Cosenza in Calabria, as writers sometimes state) was perhaps Thaddæus Gaddi, a Florentine, who was made cardinal of St. Sylvester in 1557, and died 1516: he had succeeded his uncle, Nicolas Gaddi (also a cardinal, who died 1562, in the archbishopric of Conza. (Moreri, vv. *Cardinal* and *Gaddi*.) But others think Hieronymus Muzzarelli rather to be intended. See the Addenda.

Page 574, note (4).]—Raynaldi has printed this letter, with the omission however of the sentences from “of the which” down to “in times past.” *Annales ad an. 1554*, § 16.

Page 579, line 5. “*To confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands.*”]—That this was never done unreservedly, and that members of the church of Rome especially are bound to, and that the bishop of Rome, had he power sufficient, would enforce, a total restitution of secularized church property (so called), see proved, as regards Cardinal Pole, in “A Letter written to Dr. Burnet, giving an account of Cardinal Pole's secret Powers,” Lond. 1685, where we read (p. 10): “It is plain by the progress of this matter, that the court of Rome never intended to confirm the abbey-lands; for all that was done by Pool was only an artifice to still men's fears, and to lay the clamour which the apprehension of the return of Popery was raising; that so it might once enter with the less opposition, and then it would be easy to carry all lesser matters, when the great point was once gained, as the saddle goes into the bargain for the horse.” Again: “The Pope according to this decree (Canon Law, *Causa xii. quæst. 2*, § 20) could not confirm the alienations that had been made by Henry; and if he did confirm them, the act must be null in law, and could be no prejudice to the present incumbent or his successor, to claim his right. Therefore pursuant to this the powers given to Pool, authorize him only to indemnify and discharge the possessors of the church-lands for the goods they had embezzled, and for the rents they had received; for it runs in these words (which I have marked in the Breve itself, that you may readily turn to it), *And to agree and transact with the possessors of the goods of the Church, for the rents which they have unlawfully received, and for the moveable goods which they have consumed; and for freeing and discharging them for them, they restoring first* (if that shall seem expedient to you) *the lands themselves that are unduly detained by them.* By these powers it is plain, that the Pope only forgave what was past, but stood to the right of the church, as to the restitution of the lands themselves: and that clause—if that shall seem to you expedient—belongs only to the order and point of time; so that the discharging what was past, might have been done by Cardinal Pool before or after restitution, as he pleased; but restitution was still to be made; and he had by these powers no authority to confirm the alienations that had been made by Henry the 8th for the time to come.” (pp. 7, 8.)

For later times, “Romanism as it rules in Ireland,” vol. ii. pp. 240, 248, will furnish proof that there is no relinquishment of claim, grounded on extracts from the Bullarium of Benedict XIV.

Page 579, bottom.]—This seizure is alluded to *infra*, vol. vii. p. 342, where Elizabeth Warne is stated to have been one seized on this occasion.

Page 580, middle.]—The queen was actually reported in May following to be delivered of a prince. (See *infra*, vol. vii. p. 123.)

Page 584, line 3. “*Another prayer for Queen Mary,*” &c.]—The original of this prayer does not appear to have been seen either by Strype or Herbert. We transcribe it with other prayers from a copy of the broadside, attached to the binding of a *Missale secundum usum Sarum*, folio, Rothomagi, 1510, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. J. Mendham.

“PRAYERS OR COLLECTES TO BE SAYD IN THE MASSE FOR THE QUEENES
HIGHNESSE, BEINGE WITH CHILDE.

“*Oratio.*

“*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui beatissimam virginem et matrem Mariam in conceptu, et in partu consecrasti, et Jonam Prophetam de ventre ceti potenui*

virtute liberasti, famulam tuam Mariâ Reginam nostrâ gravidâ protege, et visita eam in salutari tuo,¹ ut proles in ea cõtenta feliciter ad lucem prodeat, et perveniat ad gratiam lavachri salutaris, ipsa quoque in pariendo dolorâ misericorditer evadat, et a mortis periculo secura permaneat. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum," &c.

"Secreta.

"Suscipe quesumus domine preces et hostias humilitatis nostre, et famulam tuam Mariam Reginâ nostram scuto protectionis tue defende, et quam gravidam ex tua gratia esse voluisti, hanc adveniente partus sui tempore gratiose libera, et ab omni periculo cum prole in ea contenta clementer conserva. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum," &c.

"Postcommunio.

"Adesto supplicationibus nostris omnipotens Deus, et famulam tuam Mariam Reginam nostrâ in partu ab omni infortunio clementer preserva, ut proles ejus in hanc lucem edita, percepto lavachro salutari, et gratiose mentis virtutibus, et corporis felicitat proficiat incrementis. Per dominû nostrum Jesum, &c.

"Excusum Londini in ædibus Johannis Cawodi,

Typographi Regiæ Maiestatis."

Page 584, line 9 from the bottom. "*Also the doing of master Rose,"* &c.]—This matter is handled more at large in the first edition, p. 1019, as follows:

"In the beginning of y^e next yere, in y^e moneth of January, the parliament (whiche began as ye haue heard, the xii. day of November last) was nowe dissolved; wherin it was enacted y^e the statutes, before time made for the punishement of heretikes, (or rather to speake more truly, the true professors of Christes gospell) and the confirmation of the Popes power, shuld be reuiued, and in as good force, as euer they were before the reign of king Henry theight: and that all such statutes as were at any tyme made against y^e supremacie of the Pope, shoulde be cleane abrogated & abolished. When these things were once obtained, & that the Papists had gotten the lawes on their side, & the swerde put into their handes, to kill & murther whom they would: there was then no delay made on their behalf, to accomplishe the effectes of their long hidden infested and cankered tyranny, against the saintes of God, and true professors of Christes Gospell: with whome neither wisdom, learning, dignitie, nor age, coulede preuayle, as shall more playnly appeare in the discourse of these seuerall matters hereafter followynge, wherein also shall some time appeare that the church of God (as in all times heretofore: so nowe) was not voyde of dissembling and false brethren, by whose meanes (as most fit instrumentes) Satan brought his purpose the better to passe. All whiche notwithstanding the children of God, hauing the lawful oportunitie of seruing of God, taken by this crueltie from them, yet in sundrie times and places secretly assembled them selues, to the comforte of their consciences, & instruction of their soules. And therefore, as at other tymes, so vpon newe yeares day, An. 1555, at euening, there were many godly persones gathered together in a house within Bowe churchyarde in London, where they were, with their minister maister Thomas Rose, deuoutly & zelously occupied in prayer, and hearing of Goddes worde. But whyle they were in the midst of this their godly exercise, they were suddenly betraied (as it is thought by some false dissembling hipocrite) and about xxx. of them apprehended and caried to the Counters, but maister Rose was had before the Lorde Chauncelour, and from thence to the Fleete. To the whiche company that godly man and dere martyr of God, maister Hoper, beinge certified by a letter, of the whole discourse hereof, did wryte this comfortable and strengthening exhortation, the copy whereof with the other letters, hereafter ensueth."

Page 586. "*A letter of consolation.*"—Strype has given what he considers a more correct copy of this letter, in his *Memorials*, under Mary; Orig. No. 27. There it is dated "Jan. 4, 1554." See more in the Addenda to this Volume.

Page 588, line 24. "*Which opinion, of both, seemed most true.*"—The first edition, p. 1022, proceeds: "for that the parliament was then but newely ended. In the which (as ye have hearde) the byshoppe of Rome's supremacye was restored, which scant required any great joy, as the sequel declared."

(1) "Visita eam in salutari tuo:" a quotation from the Vulgate of Ps. cvi. 4.—Ed.

Page 588, line 15 from the bottom.]—The account of Hooper is at p. 636; of Rogers at p. 591; of Taylor at p. 676; of Bradford at vol. vii. p. 143.

Page 588, line 8 from the bottom.]—See p. 690.

Page 588, line 7 from the bottom.]—The account of Saunders is at p. 612; of Bishop Farrar at vol. vii. p. 3.

Page 588, bottom.]—There is an allusion to Dr. Crome in Ridley's Letter to Hooper, at p. 643. He had been committed to the Fleet Jan. 13, 1554; see p. 543; vol. v. p. 537, note in Appendix; and chapter xi. of vol. iii. of Strype's Memorials. See also Dr. Lamb's "Collection of CCCC. MSS.," London 1838, pp. 20, 27.

Page 589, middle.]—These initials mean Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Rogers, Saunders.

Page 593, line 9. "*Testified by his own writing.*"—Several important and preferable readings of the first edition are restored in the ensuing narrative: they are indicated by stars.

Page 593, line 21. "*My lord cardinal's coming,*" &c.]—See above, p. 567.

Page 593, line 24. "*Save one.*"—It stands "*said one*" in all the editions of Foxe; but in the "Errata" to the edition of 1563 we are told that "*said*" is an error for "*save*." Who this noble-minded individual was, we learn from the following passage of Strype: "Nov. 28th (1554), the Parliament by an instrument declared their sorrow for their apostasy, and prayed the king and queen to intercede with the cardinal to obtain his absolution; and they all kneeled down and received it. Yet one, *Sir Ralph Bagnal*, refused to consent to this submission, and said, 'He was sworn to the contrary to King Henry VIII., which was a worthy prince, and laboured 25 years before he could abolish him: and to say I will agree to it, I will not.' And many more were of the same mind, but none had the confidence to speak but he." (Strype's Memor. iii. p. 204.)

Page 595, middle.]—The three speeches attributed here (according to the first and second editions) respectively to Rogers, the L. Chanc., and Rogers, viz. "Well," &c., "No," &c., "Nay," &c., are in subsequent editions improperly attributed to L. Chanc., Rogers, and L. Chanc.

Page 596, middle. "*My Lord of Ely.*"—Thomas Thirlby, formerly bishop of Westminster, and thence translated to Norwich, and afterwards to Ely.

Page 598, line 9.]—Robert Aldrich, provost of Eton.

Page 598, line 22. "*Put off his cap.*"—So did Henry VIII. when sitting in judgment on Lambert, vol. v. p. 230. See also vol. vii. p. 340.

Page 599, top. "*A whip to whip me with.*"—The statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. affecting heretics, (repealed 25 Hen. VIII. and Ed. VI.) were revived by Mary.

Page 600, note (2).]—To this note we may add the following: "A Martino V. Pont. Abbas S. Mariæ Maniacis in Messanenai diocesi ad Ætnæ radices electus est [Nic. Tudeschus.] 10 Jan. 1425, ut ipsemet Nicolaus ait in cap. *cum olim de dolo et contumacia*, cap. 7; non S. Agathæ, ut habent Phil. Labbeus, Lud. Morerius, et H. Wharthon. in Append. ad Cave, p. 70 . . . Ad Concilium [Basil.] redire coactus, Alphonsæ Rege impellente, ejusdem nomine Felicem veneraturus, Basileam adiit, Felici adhæsit, ut regi morem gereret, qui et ipse Eugenio infensus Antipapæ accessit: ex Ænea Sylvio, &c." (Zeigelbayer Hist. Rei Literar. Ord. Benedict., Aug. Vind. 1754, tom. iii. pp. 198, 199.)

Page 602, line 30.]—See the Addenda, on this passage between parentheses. The two following citations made by Dr. Wordsworth, as illustrating this passage, are important: "St. Augustine, when the proconsul of Africa went further than that holy man liked in that kind of severity, professeth he had rather be himself slain by them, than by detecting the Donatists be any cause that they should undergo the punishment of death. From whence Baronius conceives it proceeds, that such as deliver a heretic to the secular power for execution, to this day effectually intercede he may not be punished with death. And yet as it were to mock God, and delude the world, if the lay authority having him in his power, shall defer the doing it more than ordinary, it is the constant tenet

of the Canonists, relying on a bull of Alexander IV. (A. D. 1260), that he is to be compelled unto it by spiritual censures; yet may he not take any cognisance of the cause at all." (Twisden's Vindication, p. 140.)

"In the mean time they had prevailed upon the weakness of bigotted princes, to make the civil power subservient to their purposes, by making heresy not only a temporal, but even a capital offence; the Romish ecclesiastics determining without appeal, whatever they pleased to be heresy, and shifting off to the secular arm the odium and drudgery of executions, with which they themselves were too tender and delicate to intermeddle. Nay, they pretended to intercede and pray, on behalf of the convicted heretic, *ut citra mortis periculum sententia circa eum moderetur* (Decretal. lib. v. tit. 40, cap. 27); well knowing at the same time that they were delivering the unhappy victim to certain death." (Blackstone's Comment. vol. iv. b. 4, c. 4.)

Page 609, middle.]—The following notice is taken of Rogers' martyrdom by the French ambassador, Noailles, a zealous papist: "This day was performed *la confirmation de l'alliance* between the pope and this kingdom, by a public and solemn sacrifice of a preaching doctor named Rogerus, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran; but he died persisting in his opinion. At this conduct the *greatest part* of the people took such pleasure, that they were not afraid to make him many acclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his children assisted at it, comforting him in such a manner, that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding." (Noailles' Lett. Feb. 4, 1555.)

Page 609, line 14 from the bottom. "*Not using many words, for he could not be permitted.*"—A common practice: see Hooper's case, p. 656; and Taylor's, p. 698, 699, with Foxe's remarks there.

Page 609, line 5 from the bottom. "*A year and a half.*"—The edition of 1563, p. 1036, here says: "This Rogers was first committed to pryson An. 1553, in the moneth of August, and there continued a xii. moneth and a halfe." See p. 393 of this volume.

Page 611, line 15 from the bottom. "*I will never pray for thee.*"—See the case of Frith, *supra*, vol. v. p. 18.

Page 611, line 12 from the bottom. "*Miserere.*"—The 51st Psalm: this was repeated by Dr. Taylor, see p. 699; and by Hunter, see p. 728. Psalm 106 was used by Wolsey and Pygot, vol. vii. p. 405; and Psalms 106, 107, 108, by Philpot, vol. vii. p. 685.

Page 613, line 13 from bottom. "*To accomplish his purpose.*"—This relinquishing of preferment, so uncommon at that period, led Foxe, in his Latin edition of the Acts, to make some reflections, unrepresented, we believe, in the English translation. See Document No. X. at the end of this volume.

Page 614, bottom.]—See before, p. 541.

Page 620, line 4. "*The very prophet of England.*"—These words are restored from edition 1563, p. 1042.

Page 625, middle.]—"Advow" is the reading of the first edition (see Halliwell): the subsequent editions alter it into "advouch." On Saunders' Examination, see the Addenda.

Page 627, note.]—Additional instances may be cited from Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials," under Mary (chap. 23), p. 187, old ed.; vol. iv. p. 308, edit. 1816:—"Then was there a cup of wine called for, and the sheriff *began unto me*, and willed me to drink to the Marshall's men, and so I did." Also from Bishop Jewel, on the 1 Epist. Thess. iii. 3:—"Drink the cup of bitter gall, whereof Christ *began to thee*; and carry thy cross, that thou mayest follow him." And another instance may be seen in Dr. Thomas James' "Explanation of Ten Articles," 1625, p. 34.

Page 630, line 1. "*Poor Christ with all his mainy.*"—"Mainy" is the reading of the first edition (p. 1049): but the table of Errata to that edition bids us read "mayne"; and all the subsequent editions read "mayne" or "maine." Both forms however were in use. See vol. iii. p. 11, note, for an explanation of this word; additional instances of which occur in the Paston Letters (vol. i. p. 51, edit. 1841), "he sent him home again with a certain meny;" in Sir

Thomas More's *Dyalogue*, b. i. ch. 14. fol. xxvi.; and in Bishop Hall's *Contemplations* (on the five loaves and two fishes), "and dost thou take up, for thyself and thy meiny."

Page 640, line 9.]—Hooper was nominated to the see of Gloucester May 15th, 1550, but not consecrated till March 8th, 1551; he was put in *commendam* of the see of Worcester on the death of Heath in April 1552.

Page 640, line 20. "*Such garments and apparel as the popish bishops,*" &c.]—This is unfair in Foxe. The old popish vestments, the amess, able, surcingle, maniple, stole, and chasuble, were disused at the Reformation; and no garments were consecrated. But Foxe had a predilection for that Puritanical party of which Rogers and Hooper were leaders. Hooper, however, lived to repent of his violence in the matter; and Foxe himself admits in next page, that both parties "contended about it more than reason would." See an important note on Hooper's change of views about the habits, in Dr. Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* ii. p. 365; also various letters among the Zurich Letters, printed by the Parker Society, 1846.

Page 640, bottom.]—These Letters of Dispensation are in the Ridley Register, folio 282: whence two or three slight corrections of Foxe's text are introduced.

Page 641, line 4. "*Burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops.*"]—Strype and (once) Burnet supposed that this referred to the oath of canonical obedience. But Burnet, in his third volume, informs us on the authority of Micronius, minister of the German church in London, that it referred to the oath of supremacy, which commenced, "By God, *by the saints*, and by the holy Gospels:" this he thought impious, as no creature ought to be appealed to, God only knowing the thoughts of men; and the king in Council was so convinced of the propriety of the objection, that he erased the words with his own pen.

Page 641, line 19 from the bottom. "*Master Hooper was fain to agree.*"]—But not till he had been imprisoned in the Fleet. The minutes of the Privy Council, cited in Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* and in *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 151, state, that October 6th, 1550, Hooper appeared before the Council that day, and was ordered by them to bring his reasons for refusal next Sunday (October 12th) to court. On January 13th, 1551, he appeared again before the Council, and for not having kept his house as directed, and having printed on the subject, and persevering in his refusal, he was committed to the archbishop's custody. January 27th, he was committed to the Fleet for contumacy. There he changed his mind, and addressed a letter to that effect to the Council, February 15th, first printed by Dr. Durell in his *Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Vindiciæ*, and since in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* He was consecrated March 8th.

Page 641, line 3 from bottom. "*I will name nobody.*"]—Cranmer and Ridley were of the number; and even Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer highly disapproved Hooper's conduct in the affair.

Page 643, line 9. "*D. C.*"]—In the Letters of the Martyrs this is printed "*D. Cromerum,*" and translated "*Dr. Crome:*" which confirms the Editor's conjecture in Appendix to vol. v. note on p. 351.

Page 645, line 6. "*He was one of the first that was sent for.*"]—The minutes of the Privy Council show that Miles Coverdale and John Hooper were sent for by two separate letters dated August 22d, 1553, to appear before the lords of the Council; and that Hooper made his first appearance before the Council at Richmond August 29th (Haynes's *State Papers*, pp. 173—177): on Sept. 1st he was committed to the Fleet (*Ibid.* p. 178).

Page 646, line 14.]—His wife and children had escaped to Germany. See Coverdale's "*Letters of the Martyrs,*" pp. 94—111, 126; also Zurich Letters, Parker Society, 1846.

Page 647, line 27. "*He was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.*"]—The Canterbury Register states that on March 20th, 1554, the bishops of Winchester, London, Chichester, and Durham, by virtue of the queen's commission directed to them, pronounced sentence of deprivation upon John Taylor,

bishop of Lincoln, "ob nullitatem consecrationis ejus, et defectum tituli sui quem habuit a rege Edwardo sexto per literas patentes, cum hac clausula *dum bene se gesserit*;" upon John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, "propter conjugium et alia mala merita, et vitiosum titulum ut supra;" and upon John Harlowe, bishop of Hereford, "propter conjugium et heresim ut supra."

Page 648, line 16. "*William Downton*."—This man is in the Council Book called "William Dunston;" for the day after Hooper's committal to the Tower we read: "September 2d, 1553. A letter to the Warden of the Fleet to permit William Dunston to have free access to Hooper his master."

Page 648, line 23. "*Nothing to find me*."—That he was comfortably supported by friends, however, appears by the "Letters of the Martyrs," p. 84, Ed. 1837.

Page 648, line 27.]—The first edition concludes this Report at the word "judgment."

Page 649, line 9 from the bottom.]—January 29th, 1555, fell on a Tuesday. Strype gives the Latin sentence of condemnation, Records, No. 28.

Page 649, note (1).]—These acts are printed in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog., and the original Latin from the Office Book by Burnet, vol. iii. Records, No. 35.

Page 650, line 14 from the bottom. "*False rumours and reports of recantations*."—See Appendix to vol. iv. note on p. 643, line 22, relative to Bilney. Dr. Wordsworth prints a very curious passage on this topic from Sandys's "View of the State of Religion," p. 110.

Page 651, middle.]—"Monday" was February 4th, 1555.

Page 652, line 13. "*Such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop*."—Though consecrated according to their own forms, the oath to the pope was wanting, which vitiated the whole in their opinion. This applied to orders generally. See the queen's ordinance, *supra*, p. 428, line 19 from the bottom, and the note above on p. 647, line 27.

Page 652, line 30. "*Benet and Collet*."—See notes in Appendix to vol. iii. p. 634, and vol. iv. p. 364.

Page 654, line 22. "*I was both an adulterer and a fornicator*."—This is well illustrated by an extract published by Burnet in his third volume, p. 209, of a letter from John ab Ulmis, a Swiss, at Oxford, to Bullinger, December 4th, 1552.

Page 654, line 33. "*A blind boy*."—Thomas Drowry, burned May 5th, 1556. See vol. viii. p. 144.

Page 656, line 8. "*I am no traitor*."—Referring to a calumny affecting his loyalty, grounded on a report that he had written to comfort certain persons confined for cursing the queen. An Apology, written by himself, was published afterwards by John Tisdale in Elizabeth's reign, from which it appears that he had written to some other individuals, exhorting them to continue praying together in the vulgar tongue.

Page 656, line 18. "*Speech is prohibited me*."—A common regulation: see note on p. 609. In this instance, the point was specially named in the queen's letter ordering the manner of Hooper's execution: see Burnet's Hist. vol. iii. Appendix, No. 36: "And forasmuche also as the said Hooper is, as Heretiques be, a vain-glorious Person, and delyteth in his Tongue, and having Liberty may use his said Tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the miserable Opinion that he hath sown among them: Our Pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take Order, that the said Hooper be neither at the Tyme of his Execution, nor in going to the Place therof, suffered to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly and in Sylence, for eachuyng of further Infection, and such Inconvenyence, as may otherwise ensue in this Parte."

Page 657, line 27. "*Could not be suffered to hear any more*."—The effect produced on the assembled multitude by the dying behaviour of the martyrs was often very great, and the popish authorities dreaded this: see in proof of this a letter of Cardinal Pole, written in November 1555, and reprinted by

Wordsworth (from "Poli Epistole," tom. v. p. 88, Brixia, 1757); who also quotes a passage from Heylin's History, part ii. p. 79, showing the inefficacy of such prohibitions on the part of the authorities: see also Foxe's remarks at pp. 698, 699.

Page 657, line 36. "*A pound of gunpowder.*"—Dorman, afterwards one of Jewel's antagonists, was present, and in his *Disproof of Nowel's Reproof* most disgracefully takes occasion from this incident to taunt the Protestant Martyrs. See Strype's Mem. vol. iii. p. 230.

Page 658, line 15. "*Embraced them [the reeds], kissed them, &c.*"—Similar tokens of cheerful acquiescence in their painful lot were common with the martyrs: see Saunders's case, p. 628; also that of Dr. Taylor, p. 699; and other instances at vol. v. p. 493, and vol. vii. pp. 82, 194, 548, 685.

Page 679, note (3).—The super-altar, called also *altar-stone*, *altare viaticum* or *portatile*, was "some real stone, insigned with the cross, and duly consecrated; and to be of such a length and breadth, as might conveniently hold the holy cup and consecrated host; with an apt frame of wood whereon to set it. . . . They were very rarely granted but by the pope himself or his penitentiary." Staveland's History of Churches in England, p. 214.

Page 680, line 7 from the bottom. "*Christ's cross be my speed, and St. Nicholas.*"—This alludes to the popish horn-book or spelling-book for children. (See *infra*, vol. vii. pp. 209, 241.) St. Nicholas was their patron saint; and his picture was often at the beginning of their books.

Page 681, line 3].—Yeoman was removed by Newall, Dr. Taylor's successor at Hadley. The account of his burning, July 10th, 1558, will be found *infra*, vol. viii. p. 486.

Page 682, line 20. "*Herod's oath.*"—See *infra*, vol. vii. p. 151, and vol. viii. p. 55, top.

Page 683, bottom. "*From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome,*" &c.]—Dr. Wordsworth thinks that Dr. Taylor here referred to a petition in the English Litany, as first permitted and published in 1544, and in the English Primer published the next year: "From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his abominable enormities, from all false doctrine and heresy, from all hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments: Good Lord deliver us." King Edward's two Service Books have the same petition, only changing "abominable" into "detestable:" and thus Foxe quotes it here in the margin, and Dr. Taylor himself, p. 692, top. This petition is alluded to again by two other martyrs *infra*, vol. vii. pp. 91, 107.

Page 684, line 12.]—As pains are now taken to whitewash Mary's character, it may be well to refer the reader (as Dr. Wordsworth does) to a passage from Burnet's Introduction to his third volume, on the cruelties and miseries of this unhappy period.

Page 684, line 16.]—See the statement of George Marsh, the martyr, *infra*, vol. vii. p. 46, line 7 from the bottom.

Page 685, line 10 from the bottom.]—Cranmer's Catechism, here referred to, was originally written in German, translated by Justus Jonas into Latin, and thence into English by Cranmer, and published by him in 1548; reprinted at the Oxford press, 1829. See the note, *supra*, on p. 436.

Page 685, line 5 from the bottom.]—This refers to the two Service Books of Edward VI. published 1548 and 1552.

Page 686, line 5.]—Dr. Wordsworth supposes Gardiner's book to be here referred to, intitled, "*Confutatio cavillationum, quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiae Sacramentum ab impiis Capharnaitis impeti solet;*" published certainly in 1554 (if not before in 1552), and which Cranmer was answering at the time of his death. Peter Martyr answered it elaborately in 1559.

Page 686, line 33.]—"That Justinian writeth in Titulo . . . in Cod." [VI. tit. 40]: and a few lines lower—"Moreover in the Pandects it is contained." [Dig. xxxvii. tit. xiv. § 6.]

Page 686, line 47.]—“*And Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to Timothy.*”]—The Epistle to Titus seems to be meant:—“Chrysostomus, hom. 11. in Ep. ad Titum [cap. 1, tom. xi. p. 799] τὴν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς μέσον παράγει, cuius rei gratia talem profert in medium? videlicet conjugatum, id est, unius uxoris virum: ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἰρετικούς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, οὓς obstruit hæreticis nuptias infamantibus: puta clamantes, in carne esse conjugatos, nec posse placere Deo; immunditiam esse conjugium, ideoque alienum a Sacerdotio, et similia: δεικνύς ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἑναγὲς, ostendens rem non esse abominandam, non ergo opus carnis, non immunditiam, non quid stupro deterius: ἀλλ’ οὕτω τιμῶν, ὥς μετ’ αὐτοῦ δυνάσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον, imo tam honestam, ut cum ea possit ascendi in sacram sedem; non tantum ad infimos ordines, ostiariorum, lectorum, cantorum, acolytorum, exorcistarum, sed ad summam. Nam ἅγιος θρόνος Episcoporum erat: at si Episcoporum, cur non Hypodiaconorum, Diaconorum, Presbyterorum?” (Chamier, Panstratia Catholica, tom. iii. lib. xvi. cap. 11. § 18.)

Page 686, last line. “*There is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced,*” &c.]—In Socr. H. E. I. cap. 11; Sozom. H. E. I. cap. 22, where it is called νόμον νεαρὸν: see Chamier (ut suprâ), lib. xvi. cap. 10.

Page 687, middle.]—Strype gives a passage, apparently from the official Records, confirmatory of this second part of Taylor’s statement. (Memorials, iii. p. 182.)

Page 690, line 14 from the bottom.]—See p. 588.

Page 691, line 8.]—The Clink was in Southwark.

Page 691, line 20.]—Bonner takes up the work, of which Gardiner seems to have long since been weary, and convinced of its inefficacy: see his disclaimer to Bradford, vol. vii. p. 157; and Foxe’s statement at pp. 703, 704, of this volume.

Page 691, line 14 from the bottom.]—Ridley, in like manner, in his degradation compared himself to a Vice in a play: see vol. vii. p. 544.

Page 691, line 12 from the bottom. “*Scraped his fingers.*”]—See the degradation of Cranmer, vol. viii. p. 78 top, and p. 79.

Page 692, top.]—See the note on p. 683, bottom.

Page 693, line 3. “*A Latin Book.*”]—The first edition adds, “called Apophthegmata.”

Page 698, line 17. “*Aldham Common.*”]—In Aldham Common, not far from Hadley town, is a great stone, that assigns the place where he suffered, and on it are written these words or to this effect:—

“Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,
In this place shed his blood.”

Strype’s Life of Cranmer, p. 420, where also Strype gives his epitaph, from a brass plate in Hadley parish church.

Page 698, middle.]—“Norr, for notted, shorn, cut close, or smooth; from *nott*, to shear or poll; . . . ‘he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth, his beard to be *notted* and no more shaven.’ (Stowe’s Annals.) . . . NOT-PATED, or NOTT-HEADED, a. from above, having the hair cut close.”—Nares’s Glossary.

Page 698, line 21 from the bottom. “*Then would he have spoken to the people,*” &c.]—See the notes on pp. 609, 656, 657.

Page 699, line 20. “*A waster,*”]—a cudgel. (Nares.)

Page 699, line 26. “*Went to the stake.*”]—The first edition adds, “made a cross thereon:” “*and kissed it.*”]—See note on p. 658: line 14 from the bottom, for “hangman” the first edition reads “hanged man.”

Page 700, middle. “*About a balk.*”]—“Balk” means a “cross-beam” or “rafter.” See Boucher’s Glossary, and Todd’s Johnson.

Page 700, line 8 from the bottom.]—Strype, in his Memorials of Cranmer, p. 421, has preserved the heads of a sermon preached at Hadley the day after

Taylor's burning by his successor Newall, "patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableness, lies and improbabilities."

Page 701, line 21 from the bottom. "*Transubstantiate into flocks.*"—"Flocks" is also the reading in Letters of the Martyrs, not "stocks:" "flock" means "a thing of no value," as in the Latin phrase "*flocci facere.*"

Page 704, line 26. "*Gardiner . . . meddled no more in such kind of condemnations.*"—See note on p. 691.

Page 704, line 8 from the bottom. "*The sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish friar.*"—This very singular act admits of an easy solution. Sharon Turner, in his History of Mary (c. xvi.), relates from Llorente's History of the Inquisition (French edit. tom. ii. p. 175), whose authority is Cabrera's Philip II., that this same Philip was at the time in dread of a papal excommunication. He writes to his sister, regent in Spain, that he had learnt his holiness's intention to that effect, and to put his state under an interdict, accusing his holiness at the same time of *ingratitude* for his own *merits* in pursuing and punishing *here without ceasing*. These *merits* Philip repeated two years afterwards in his own country. There is a remarkable confirmation of this view in the continuation of Baronius's Annals by Raynaldi (ad an. 1557, § 5), "*Paulus Neapolitani proregis armis lacessitus . . . adversus Carolum V. et Philippum citerioris Siciliæ et Angliæ regem erecto novo tribunali, selectis ex omni ordinum genere viris doctiss., legum severitatem distringere decrevit, pontificiosque omnes administratos, qui in Cæsaris et regis Philippi regnis agebant, revocavit; necnon feria quinta majoris hebdomadæ defixit anathemate invasores Urbium ditionis ecclesiasticæ, tum omnes, qui consilio vel auxilio studiisve iis adhærerent,*" &c.

Page 707, bottom.]—In conformity with this letter of Mary's, we find the following minute of the Council, printed in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 181: "At Westminster the xix. day of February an^o 1554. A Paseporte directed to all Maiores, Sherifes, Bailifes, &c. to permitt Miles Coverdall to passe from hence towards Denmarke with two of his servants, his bagges and baggages, without any theire unlawfull lette or serche."

Page 708, bottom.]—This Declaration is in the Bonner Register, folio 372. Foxe's copy has been collated and found very close: three words in square brackets he has added, and he has at the close corrected the Register, which reads, "much profit and estimable profit."

Page 711, line 4. "*Of the Duke of Northumberland.*"—In some extant copies of the first edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, p. 1113, two printed lines have been pasted over these words, and the following substituted: "as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the *contrary part* to lose *assuredly* both body and goods, so he," &c. The words in italics point out the alteration introduced by this substitution. See note above on p. 88.

Page 713, line 8. "*For saying mass.*"—The copy in Dr. Dibdin's Library Companion reads, "of mass."

Page 718, line 9 from the bottom. "*So this catholic bishop.*"—The edition of 1563 goes on: "commanded a burning candle to be brought forth before him; which being speedily done by his servants, 'Come on,' quod he, 'naughty knave: if thou likest the torment of the fire so well, I will make thee feel in this flame, what it is to be burned; and then if thou be wise, thou wilt change thy mind:' and so saying commanded his right hand to be put into the burning flame." (p. 1102.)

Page 727, line 16 from the bottom. "*But a short braid.*"—"Braid" means a sudden blow or assault, soon ended. See Halliwell in voc.; and Prompt. Parv. p. 49.

Page 729, middle.]—Foxe has this short introduction, in his first edition, to the account of Masters Causton and Higbed, pp. 1103, 4:—

"Although hitherto there hath bene no parte or diocese in England (whereof there are many, and they large, within thys Reame) altogether cleare and free from this persecution (very fewe except), yet among all the rest there is none in my judgment, that hath bene more frutefull of godly martyrs, then hath Essex; from whence (as there were many other of whom in theyr tyme

mention shall be made) so there came two amonges the rest, that were notable, being descended of worshipfull stocke, the one," &c.

Page 730, middle.]—The editor has corrected "17th" and "18th" into "27th," "28th;" the 17th of February, 1555, was a Sunday, when it was not likely they would make their first appearance. The first edition (p. 1104) reads in the second instance "xxviii." The next page also says, at top, "Upon that day, being the first day of March;" where the first edition says, "The next day, being Friday, and the first day of March," which concurrents agree with Nicolas's Tables: observe also the subsequent dates.

Page 733, note.]—This note is *pasted* on to the margin of the edition 1570, p. 1718.

Page 737, line 10. "*The 26th day.*"—The first edition reads "xxv."

Page 740, note (1). "*When closely pursued.*"—The allusion appears, from the wording in the Latin Edition, p. 427, to be somewhat different: "Ut quem-admodum cervus longa fatigatione sitibundus ad aquarum fontes desiderat, non aliter animula hæc ad te tota anhelet." The same expression occurs in a prayer of Bp. Hooper: "I hunger for thee, as the deere that is wounded *desireth the soile.*" Parker Soc. Later writings; Biograph. Notice, p. xxix. Also by Bland in vol. vii. p. 305. The word "soil" in this sense is probably derived from the French *soaille*.

ADDENDA¹

Page 4, line 16. "*Grails, or gradual*"—After the Epistle, in order to unite prayer with instruction, the whole or part of one of the Psalms is recited; and this anthem is called the GRADUAL, from an ancient custom which once prevailed of chanting it on the *Gradus*, i. e. steps of the *Ambo* or pulpit in which the Epistle used to be recited. These verses composing the Gradual used to be chanted sometimes by one chorister alone, without any pause or interruption; sometimes alternately by many voices, which responded one to another. When the chanting was performed by one voice, and without interruption, it was distinguished by the appellation of '*Tract*,' from the Latin *Tractus*, without ceasing. When it was sung by several of the choir, or by the whole congregation, who took up some of the strophes, it was called the anthem sung in versicle and '*response*.' Hence the origin of the generic term '*Gradual*,' and of the specific ones, '*Tract*' and '*Response*.'" ("Hierurgia, or the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, &c. by Daniel Rock, D.D. London, 1833.")

Page 17, line 10. "*Augustine saith.*"—See *Tract*. in Joh. Evang. xvi. § 2: and line 12, "*Chrysostome's saying*; see *De Spirit. Sancto*, § 9, 10.

Page 29, line 7.]—After "We cannot see," restore from the text of 1563, p. 730, "my good lord."

Page 32, line 29. "*Fearing now Lent to be.*"—Lent is personified again, p. 34, line 9, and p. 35, line 17 from the bottom.

Page 33, line 4. "*Endeavour ourselves.*"—i. e. Use our endeavour. On the use of "endeavour" as a reflexive verb, see "*Notes and Queries*," 1 Series, i. 285; 2 Series, iv. 489; v. 50.

Page 35, line 25. "*We have heard of the subtle difference.*"—And so have we in these days: see Bricknell's Judgment of the Bishops on Tractarian Theology, pp. 54, 671; and Sir Thomas More in *his* times observes: "The tother poynt I remembre that there is a difference put between *mentiri* et *mendacium dicere*, that is, as we might say, betwene hym that wittingly lyeth, and

(1) The Addenda to this and the other volumes have not been incorporated with their respective Appendices, in order to preserve the accuracy of the General Index, which contains many references to the Appendices in their original form; and having been stereotyped, could not be conformed to a new arrangement of the matter.

hym that telleth a lie, mening y^e it were true." Works, p. 1032. See, too, Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 9. § 53.

Page 39, line 22 from the bottom.]—The words "impertinent and" are not found in the edition of 1563.

Page 39, last line. "*With a priest.*"—The first edition (p. 739) so reads: another priest *did* recant in June of this year. See Strype's Mem. under Ed. VI. chap. 6. Other editions misprint "which a priest."

Page 40, line 19 from the bottom.]—For "stayed" the first edition (p. 739) reads "stauld."

Page 90, line 7 from the bottom. "*Because he coude.*"—This is the past tense of "can," to *know*. Several instances of this word occur in the *Festynall*, as on fol. lxxxv. verso, ed. 1528:—"For he (St. Paul) was lerned, and *coude* the Jewes lawe;" and fol. xlii. verso:—"They (the Disciples) were tofore but lewde men of syght very ydeottes as of cunnyng, and no-tyngne *coude* of clergie;" and fol. xciii. recto:—"A man that *coude* moche wytecraft."

Page 110, Art. XXXIV. line 2. "*Being the 29th.*"—Foxe's text reads "19th," but it should be "29th;" see note, p. 87.

Page 122, heading of the Eighth Session.]—This is said in Foxe to have been "on twelf-day," which is unintelligible: "twelf-day" is clearly a misprint for "Tuesday." The day of the week is mentioned on most of the days of meeting.

Page 123, line 16.]—It is strange that Foxe should here call Wriothesley the chancellor, for he has correctly stated in the heading of this Session that Lord Riche was chancellor; and gives his depositions at p. 175.

Page 128, note (1).]—Foxe's mis-numbering of these Articles vitiated a large portion of the references in the subsequent depositions: the correction of his error in this Edition is therefore of great importance.

Page 138, middle.]—The Government Commissioners of Records in 1830 printed (State Papers, vol. i. part 2, p. 883) Gardiner's letter to the king, to which the king's letter in Foxe is a reply; also another letter of Gardiner to Paget, requesting him to convey his letter to the king. Dr. Maitland has reprinted the three letters all together, in his "Essays on the Reformation," p. 330.

Page 139, line 10. "*Without officers.*"—Dr. Maitland suggests that "without" is a mistake for "with our."

Page 163, line 34.]—"*Misliked the said bishop ever the longer the worse.*"—This expression, which seems to be proverbial, occurs in the *Festynall*, edit. 1528, fol. xciii. recto:—"He (some man) was *ever the longer, the worse*:" and again, on an earlier leaf (xi. recto), in reference to the length of time taken in preparing the ark, "but the people was *ever the longer the worse*," which explains Gardiner's meaning better.

Page 207, line 21.]—"Merely" is probably for "merrily."

Page 213, line 7.]—The first edition reads correctly "at Oxford;" and at line 8, "upon the xxxivth or xxxvth articles of the matter." The disputation referred to in line 16 is given by Foxe at p. 248. As this was said Jan. 23d, 1551 (see p. 130), and Peter Martyr's disputation at Oxford on the Sacrament began May 28th, 1549, and continued the three following days, the deponent was not quite accurate.

Page 233, middle.]—"Commanded" is Foxe's reading; but from the sense, and a repetition at p. 237, line 21, it should certainly be "commended."

Page 239, line 3. "*In the fourth year of the reign,*" &c.]—Foxe says "first year," which is clearly a misprint.

Page 243, line 9. "*One of the number that defended the same.*"—See p. 308.

Page 257, note a.]—John Elder's letter, an exceedingly rare tract, is now rendered more accessible by a reprint, appended to *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Q. Mary*, published by the Camden Society, 1850.

Page 336, line 17. "*A certain learned and reverend person of this realm.*"—This was Edmund Grindall: see his Works by the Parker Society, pp. 39—74.

Page 372, line 10. "*About the year of Christ 500.*"—Foxe reads "about 500 years almost the epistle:" but see the Latin in the note (3), at the foot of the page.

Page 377, note (5).—"Mysterio." See Durand. Rat. Div. Off. iv. 35. § 7.

Page 384, line 10 from the bottom.]—The first edition reads, "notably well;" the others, "notably."

Page 395.]—Foxe gives this Disputation in Latin in his "*Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*, &c., Basil. 1559," p. 215; and introduces it with the following words: "*Eas autem disputationes in Acta diligentissimè collegit Joannes Filpottus, quarum ipse sæpe in suis post examinibus mentionem facit. Quoniamque eædem ab altero Pollano quodam e vernacula nostra in Latinam sunt linguam redditæ, minus ea in re mihi laborandum fuit, nisi quod narrationem ipsam contractius alicubi in compendium redegì, paucisque in locis recognoscenda nonnulla videbantur.*" In his first English Edition (1563) Foxe reprints Philpot's original; in the subsequent Editions he has broken up the text, and in some places mended the style, introducing, however, several misprints: these are corrected in this Edition, and several expressions of the original restored. Foxe's expression, in supplying the name of the sixth Protestant advocate—"et (nisi fallit memoria) Cantore Menevensi"—seems to imply that he was himself present at the disputation.

Page 397, lines 4, 5. "*Lord high steward.*"—It would seem from a note of Mr. Nichols on Machyn's Diary, Preface, p. xiv., that the Latin gives the more correct title; for that the Earl of Arundel, having been made *Lord Great Master* soon after the accession of Mary, procured the restoration of the former designation "*Lord High Steward*," which had been changed on the appointment of the Duke of Suffolk in 1531, copying the French title. This title or name of office occurs in a quotation in the "*Retrospective Review*," New Series, i. 210.

Page 410, line 13 from the bottom. "*That is a diffuse definition.*"—For "diffuse," the Latin has *obscura*. "This word (*diffuse*) appears to have been used in the sense of *obscure*. I find *diffused* explained by Cotgrave, '*diffus, espars, obscure.*' And in a Latin, Greek, and English Lexicon, by R. Hutton, printed at London by H. Bynnenman, 1583, the Latin adverb *obscurè* is interpreted, 'darkely, obscurely, *diffusely.*'" (Singer's note to Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, vol. i. p. 92.) Grove's edition of Cavendish at the same place reads "difficult." Latimer, *infra*, vol. vii. p. 450, speaks of certain figurative phrases of Scripture as "*diffuse and difficult.*" Foxe himself, vol. viii. p. 202, says that Julius Palmer was fond of "deep and *diffuse* questions:" and at p. 242, one Jackson talks of "a *diffuse* question." Another instance of this word, in the sense of *obscure*, *unintelligible*, occurs in Stowe's Chronicle (p. 532, edit. 1631), "and speaking merily to one of the Gentlemen there, being a *Welshman*, [the Cardinall] said, Rice (quoth he) speake you Welsh to them. I doubt not but that thy speech shall be more *diffuse* to him, than his *French* shall be to thee."

Page 418.]—Lady Jane's Letter to Harding varies much in subsequent editions from the text of 1563; slight portions are added or omitted.

Page 424, middle.]—"Frowes," probably a plaited ruff. "Frunsit, part. pass., puckered. Fr. *froncé*, *froncé*; id. from *fronc-er*, *fronser*, 'to gather, plait, fold,—crumple, frumple.' Cotgrave." (See Jamieson's Scottish Dict.) *Frowes* was perhaps the same with *partlette*, of which Halliwell has the following:—

"PARTLETT. A ruff or band formerly much worn about the neck by both sexes, but more latterly it seems to have been worn exclusively by women. 'A mayden's neckerchefe or lynnyn partlette.' Elyot ed. 1559, in *Strophium*. The term was sometimes applied to the habit-shirt."

Page 424, middle.]—"Paste;" the first edition reads "*paste*," the others "past," or "paast." Halliwell says:—"PASTE. 'Payre of *pastes unes passes.*' Palsgrave. See *Partlett*." See last note. 'Wyth gay gownys and gay

kyrtels, and much waste in apparell, rynges, and owchis, wyth parteleties and pastis garneshed wyth perle.' More's Supplicacyon of Soulya, sig. L. ii."

"The xiii day of July [1560] was marad in Sant Ma[ry] Wolnars in Lumbard Strett iij dowthers of master Atkynson the skrevener in ther here and goodly pastes with chenes and pearl and stones." Diary of H. Machyn, Camden Soc. 1848, p. 240. The editor explains this word "pastes" in the Glossary, "head dresses for brides." He adds that parishes kept "pastes" to let out at weddings, as they did herse-cloths for funerals; and the customary charge made at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the reigns of Ed. VI. and Mary, was xij*d*. In the inventory of the church goods of that parish, in 1564, occurs, "Cerclet for brides. Item, one past for brydes sett with perle and stone."

Sir H. Nicolas, in his account of Lady Jane Grey (p. xci.), confesses himself unable to explain the phrase; he takes it as one word, "frosee-paste," and thinks it was probably of German origin, and a species of tucker that covered the neck, called "fronta-piece." Or "frowes-paste" may mean "a woman's paste," "frowe" being German for a woman. In Crispin's "Act. et Mon. Martyrum," Genev. 1560, fol. 257 recto, these words are rendered by "Exutæ demum mundo, tiara ac peplo." And in the "Histoire des Martyrs," Edit. 1619, fol. 277 recto, by "Et apres qu'elles lui eurent osté ses ornements et son atour de teste."

Page 430, line 4.—"Demoure," in all the old editions, means "sojourn," from *demoror*. See Todd's Johnson.

Page 430, line 14 from the bottom. "*There entertained.*"—"I heard saye (writes Haggarde) of one in Gravesende Barge, belyke some pilgryme of Goddes church, that the poore menue of that country which in dede were very poore, before the repayre of our Englishmen thether, are now become jolye fellows. And by what meanes think you? By letting out their cotages in the townes to our countrymen. Who because they be glad to have them, use no debating of the matter, as we do, but bidde them aske and have."—*Displaying of the Protestantes*, fol. 117 verso.

Page 434, line 8. "*Doubt thou not the angel.*"—The Latin of Ambrose reads "angelum."

Page 440, line 34. "*Where they had a junkery.*"—Bishop Fisher, in his *Monthes mind on Margaret Countess of Richmond*, p. 113, Camb. 1840, recommends "exchewynge banketta, Reresoupers, joncryes betwixt meles."

Page 444, line 5 from the bottom.]—The first edition for "to discusse," has, "to unfold the plytes and wrinkles of," &c.

Page 451, line 4.]—After "Weston" the edition of 1563 adds, "praising the modesty of the man, saith."

Page 472, line 16 from the bottom.]—After "time enough" add, "Any day hereafter will serve to dispute on," from Ed. 1563, p. 959. The Latin in Ridley's Works (P. S.), p. 440, sanctions this.

Page 474, line 8.]—Edition 1563 reads, "Doth the time require that you speak blasphemies? Lay your blasphemies aside, I say:" and at line 11, "all is hushd and at quiet," which is supported by the Latin account; and at line 25, more correctly, "workers of miracles," in the Latin, "mirabiliario."

Page 481, line 8 from the bottom. "*To beguile me.*"—The first edition, p. 964, has "to craft with your equivocations:" Halliwell records "craft" from Palgrave as meaning "to deal craftily."

Page 482, middle. "*By circumscription.*"—The first edition for "by" reads "after;" the Latin, "sed secundum locum," where "sed" seems a misprint for "seu."

Page 484, line 17. "*You run to the beginning.*"—This is a bald rendering of the Latin "petis principium," i. e. "you beg the question." The first edition has "fall" for "run;" but that does not improve the translation.

Page 492, line 12 from the bottom. "*Understand his benefita.*"—The first edition has "benefit," supported by "beneficium" in the Latin (Ridley's Works, P. S.), p. 469.

Page 497, line 13. "*Dr. Weston repeated, &c.*"—In the edit. of 1563 (p. 975) this paragraph is given in the first person, in accordance with Ridley's MS. At the end, instead of "he smelled," it gives, more closely to the Latin, "methought I smelled."

Page 501, line 13. "*Used the Latin.*"—"Used any Latin tongue," Ed. 1563, p. 978, and so the Harl. MS.

Page 501, line 11 from the bottom. "*Masters the transubstantiators.*"—So the first and second editions, and Latimer's Works (P. S. vol. ii. p. 253), and the Latin, "transubstantiatores." Other editions read corruptly "the transubstantion" and "of the transubstantiation."

Page 502, line 16 from the bottom. "*Snacks, rejagtes.*"—So reads the first edition of Foxe. This reading is supported neither by the Harleian MS. (Latimer's Works, P. S. vol. ii. 257, 481), nor the Emmanuel MS.; and yet it seems the more correct. "Snak" is explained in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary by "the gnashing of dog's teeth, when he aims at prey;" and the verb "rejagge" is given by Halliwell, "to reprove," &c. In Strype's Mem. vii. p. 131, we have "snacks, rejaggas, revillings." "Rejagge" occurs also in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, which see and the note.

Page 503, line 20. "*Many things.*"—So in the ed. 1563 and the Emmanuel Coll. MS.: in the Latin it is "plurima scire." The passage is a translation of two Latin verses, which Latimer seems to have been fond of, for he cites them *infra*, vol. vii. p. 413.

Page 503, line 11 from the bottom. "*Amen!*"—Here ends the Emmanuel Coll. MS.

Page 507, line 16 from the bottom. "*Yes, Sir.*"—This is Latimer's reply in edit. 1563 and Harleian MS., and is supported by the Latin: in other editions it is expunged, and *Weston's* "Is not manducare," &c. erroneously put into Latimer's mouth.

Page 508, line 4. "*Upon Scripture.*"—The first edition adds, "I was in a thing, and have forgotten it."

Page 508, middle. "*Cartwright . . . I was in the same error.*"—The recantation of Nicholas Cartwright, Dr. of Divinity, and Vicar of a Parish in the diocese of Cov. and Lichfield, may be seen in the Harleian MS. 421.

Page 510, line 17 from the bottom. "*Fletyng apostates.*"—The meaning or derivation given to "flete" in the notes to *Prompt. Parv.*, "Anglo-Saxon fleotan, *fluctuare*," seems to show this reading to be preferable to "flying," which is adopted in all editions after 1563; agreeing as it does also so well with the remarks following. In the *Festiyvall*, fol. cvii. recto, ed. 1528, we have: "So was Peter so stedfast after, that neyther for wele nor wo he never *fetered*."

Page 545, line 6 from the bottom. "*Sir John Rogers.*"—This should be Sir *Edward* according to the *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, published by the Camden Society, p. 65; on which Mr. Nichols, the Editor, remarks:—"Holinshed and Foxe erroneously say Sir John Rogers. Sir Edward was named by Sir T. Wyatt as having brought him a message from the Earl of Devonshire. He was also discharged on the 18th Jan. 1554-5." His committal also is put on the xxiii. in the above Chronicle.

Page 548, line 10. "*On Saturday, the 3d of March.*"—"In the afternoone of Frydaye," according to the *Chronicle of Queen Jane* and *Q. Mary*, p. 66.

Page 548, line 3 from the bottom. "*Increased to twenty marks.*"—"The xiii. day of April was a proclamasyon was made that what so mever he wher that cold bryng forth hym that dyd hang the catt on the galas, he shuld have xx marke for ys labur."—*Machyn's Diary*, p. 60.

Page 549 (and 561), line 14 from the bottom. "*Emanuel Lucar.*"—It is Lucar, not Lucas, in Foxe, ed. 1570, and in the above-named Chronicle, p. 75, and in Machyn's Diary.

Page 549, note. "*Stow,*" &c.]—Machyn has it under the same date.

Page 556, line 7 from the bottom. "*Greæ cacolucus voluit.*"—The word

"cacolucus" is intended for a play, by contrast, upon the *catholicus* of the Romish versifier, Maister White. See too Davanzati's *Schisma d'Inghilterra*, p. 60, ed. Venezia, 1756.

Page 557, line 4 from the bottom. "*The nine worthies.*"—These were, Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabæus; Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæsar; and Arthur of Britain, Charlemagne of France, and Godfrey of Bouillon.

Page 558, line 3. "*But hereupon was no small matter made.*"—This incident is related in the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Q. Mary*, p. 78, where see Mr. Nichols's note.

Page 559, line 19 from the bottom.]—There is a much tamer account of this Sermon among the Foxian MSS. (Harl. 425, p. 118).

Page 560, middle.]—The *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Q. Mary*, p. 83, says that the twenty carts contained "iiii^x xvij lytell chestes of a yard long and iiii ynches brode, of sylver, which will mak by estymacyon 1 thousand pounde." Stowe instead of "fourscore and seventeen chests," has made 27 chests in each cart.

Page 560, middle. "*About the same time or a little before.*"—Machyn has got it recorded under the xxiiith day of May, Corpus Christi day, p. 63.

Page 560, line 4 from the bottom. "*The brief Chronicle of London.*"—This Chronicle has been put into print by the Camden Society, under the title, *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, 1852. The sentence quoted by Foxe appears on p. 89.

Page 561, note.]—According to Machyn's Diary (p. 74) only one was a priest, Sir Thomas Lawes, otherwise called Sir Thomas Gryffyn: "iiii of them wher releygous men, and the feyth was a temporall man that had ii wyffes."

Page 567, line 16. "*Pole landed . . . the 21st.*"—Upon the 20th, according to the "Ritorno del Regno d'Inghilterra alla cath. Unione," &c. reprinted in *Poli Epistolæ*, pars v. 305, written probably by Binardi, or Floribello, or Fr. Stella, or some other Italian in the cardinal's retinue." (Pye's *Life of Card. Pole*, p. 93.)

Page 568, line 6 from the bottom.]—The words "to say" are supplied from Elder's Letter, appended to the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Q. Mary*.

Page 572, line 17. "*The supplication being read.*"—But the actual reconciliation, as it should have been made plainer, took place on the 30th, St. Andrew's day: see p. 573, and Phillips' *Life of Cardinal Pole*, vol. ii. p. 129, and *Pol. Ep.* v. 315.

Several of these letters and small documents are reprinted from the original publications in Cardinal Quirini's collection of Pole's *Epistolæ*, tom. v. Brixie, 1757, pp. 293—324. The sermon of Bishop Gardiner is given in Latin from notes taken by Harpesfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and of course more at length than in Foxe. At the close, where Foxe (p. 578) has "for the Bishop of London," the reprint in Pole gives "et reverendissimo Legato Polo," p. 299.

Page 573. "*The cardinal's letter.*"—This and other similar papers were published at the time in the shape of separate tracts, some of them at Milan in 1554 and 1555. There are copies in the Grenville collection (see *Biblioth. Grenv.* vol. ii. pp. 447, 561). Line 5 from the bottom, restore "healthsome."

Page 574, line 38.]—Hieronymus Muzzarelli seems rather to be the right man:—"A Julio III. allectus est [Hieron. Muzzarellus] sacri Palatii magister, et anno 1553 die xi Dec. ab eodem ad sedem Compasnam evectus, ac paulo post ad Carolum V. Imp. de gravissimis negotiis nuntius Apostolicus missus." Quetif. Scripp. Ord. Præd. ii. 179.

Page 575.]—See a letter of Moyer, somewhat correcting and explaining Bolton's statements, in *Strype's Memorials*, vol. vii. p. 278, Edit. 1816, No. 58.

Page 585, top.]—This and the two following Letters are in MSS. 2. 2. 16, Nos. 2, 3, 4, Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge. Foxe has been collated with that copy, which fills up "Sh." as "Shorte." This Letter is there signed "Tuus usque ad aras fidelissimus servus."

Page 585, bottom.]—The Emmanuel copy dates this second Letter “January 4, 1554,” and then adds, “Your loving friend as you knowe, J. H.”

Page 587, middle.]—The Emmanuel MS. (also Foxe's first Edition) dates this third Letter Jan. 4, 1554. It adds a signature, “Your loving brother in Christ, John Hoper.” Then follow these words—“Approbatur Edm. London. Perused by me Henry Bull, and I will further see to the correction hereof at the printer's hands.” Coverdale's “Letters of the Martyrs” were originally printed (and very accurately too) from these Emmanuel MSS.

Page 587, line 17 from the bottom. “*All the preachers.*”]—Strype specifies Bishop Hooper, Dr. Crome, Harold Tomson, Rogers, beside “divers others, to the number of eleven persons, besides two more that were not then sent for,” as being “arraigned” on that occasion. Machyn, in his Diary (p. 80), says: “The xxii day of Januarii was raynyd at my lord Chansseler plassee bysyd sant Mare Overes ser John Hoper latt bysshope of Glosetur, doctur C[rome], as parsun of Wyttyngtun Colege, harold Tomson, Rogers parsun or veker of Sant Pulkers, and dyvers odur.” The examination of Rowland Taylor, who was one of the number, is given at p. 685 of the same volume.

Page 588, line 10 from the bottom. “*Dr. Taylor . . . committed to prison till the next day.*”]—Strype says, that Taylor was ordered to appear there again between three and four in the afternoon.

Page 593.]—There is a copy of this Process against Rogers (as far as p. 601) in the Emmanuel MSS. 2. 2. 16, No. 7, which supports Foxe; his first Edition calls this “The Confession and Answer, &c.,” and so does the Emm. MS.: see the same title, “Confession,” at p. 597.

Page 599, line 10 from the bottom.]—The Emmanuel MS. reads “St. Mary Over the waye;” and two lines lower, “sent they for me in.”

Page 601, line 5.]—The Emmanuel MS. here reads better: “tyrannical laws thereof, with their maintenance, and the cruel persecution used by the bishops of that same church.” And at the end of this paragraph; “sacrament; and cursed . . . condemned me and put me . . . laity; and gave me over, &c.”

Page 602, line 30.]—The Edition of 1563, p. 1029, gives the Latin of this Sentence, which contains nothing corresponding to the passage in parentheses: but the Edition of 1570, p. 1662, which first gives the English translation of the Sentence, has the following side-note: “This clause is not expressed in this Sentence of Winchester, but in the other Sentences of B. Boner commonly it is expressed.”

Page 602, line 39.]—The Emmanuel MS. reads, “with one of the sheriffs;” and two lines lower, “St. Mary Over the way's;” and three lines lower, “what a vondgabel daunger it was.”

Page 602, note (1).]—The note here in Edition 1563 is: “Here my Lorde lacked but an onion to make the teares come oute.”

Page 609, line 10. “*Disperpled.*”]—On this word see Appendix to vol. iii. note on p. 130: also *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 123, and Mr. Way's note; Nares's Glossary, and Todd's Johnson.

Page 625, line 14 from the bottom.]—This Examination of Saunders is given in the Emmanuel Coll. MSS. 2. 2, which begins, “It is not unknown,” and ends, “Pray for me wretched sinner.” This can hardly be called Saunders's “first examination,” see pp. 541, 615, 616; this appearance was most likely that mentioned at p. 588, as occurring January 30th. Strype gives a longer list of persons present as judges, than Foxe does in that place; viz. the bishops of Durham, Worcester, Ely, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, Norwich, Lichfield, and Carlisle, as “co-assessors,” and “the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Wharton, the Lord Lumley, Leonard Chamberlayn, and Robert Drury, Knights; Thomas Hussey, John Vaughan, Thomas Martyn, Esqrs.; R. [perhaps Edward] Wotton, and John Warner, doctors in physic; Hugh Coren, David Poole, Nicholas Harpesfield, doctors of law; Thomas Watson, John Seton, doctors of divinity; Philip Morgan, John Boxal, Seth Holland, bachelors in divinity;

Richard Chandler, Archdeacon of Sarum, and very many others." (Memorials.) Still it is hardly correct to say, as Foxe does three lines lower, that Saunders was then "convented before the Queen's most honourable Privy Council, sundry bishops being present."

Page 628, line 17. "*With that, this tormentor cried.*"—See the explanation of the word "tormentor" in the Addenda to vol. v., note on p. 634.

Page 629, line 12 from the bottom. "*Taking heart of grace.*"—See vol. viii. pp. 307, 373, and note on the latter.

Page 632.]—There is another letter of Saunders to this Mrs. Harrington, in the Emmanuel MSS. 2. 2. 15, No. 17, dated from the Marshalsea, 21 Nov. 1553.

Page 639, line 17. "*Orpheus' harp.*"—The edition of 1563 (p. 1050) presents a variation which may be worth noting; "For I myselfe have been oftentimes present when he preaching," &c.; lines 12, 11 from the bottom, the first edition reads "grudge," "look," for "conflict," "behaviour;" and line 3 from the bottom, "austere" for "rigoroua."

Page 640, line 14. "*I cannot tell what.*"—A somewhat over-literal translation of "nescio quæ."

Page 644, line 16 from the bottom.]—The edit. of 1563 (p. 1053) adds:—
"I am ashamed when I compare examples, howe muche hys trade and institution differeth from the common sorte of the Popishe Bishoppes; whose lyfe and example, as I woulde God oure Bishoppes would followe, so I woulde wishe that thother prynces and rulers would imitate the good trade and well doynge of them. And as I greatly desire ydleness to bee eschewed of all Bishoppes servauntes; so more I wish to be avoyded of the Bishoppes themselves, riote and to muche wealth. And yet I speake not this for that I woulde have the Bishoppes by and by to be brought to bagge and wallette, and extreme poverty: but that it were better for themselves and the Church to, yf they could reduce and call themselves to Hooper's mean and moderation."

Page 652, line 9, &c.]—Read "disgrade" in all cases.

DOCUMENTS

REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING APPENDIX.

No. I.

ARTICLES TO BE ENQUIRED UPON IN THE VISITATION OF
NICOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON, JUNE 1550, OMITTED
IN ALL HITHERTO PRINTED COPIES OF THE ARTICLES.

(See the Note in the Appendix, on page 4 of this Volume.)

From the Ridley Register, folio 305.

Whether any do preach or affirm all things to be common, or that we ought to have no magistrates.

Whether any do preach or say, that it is not lawful for a christian man to swear before a judge being required; or being wronged, to seek remedy by the order of the law.

Whether any teacheth and saith that Christ took no flesh and blood of the blessed virgin Mary.

Whether every Sunday one part of an homily, as it is now divided, is read immediately after the *credo* (if there be no sermon) openly and distinctly, that all in the church may hear and understand it. And so likewise the Epistle and Gospel and lessons.

Whether your ministers every holiday do recite openly and plainly in the Pulpit the pater-noster, the crede, and the ten commandments in English.

Of Service.

Whether the Service is used to be said or sung upon Sundays and holy days in due tyme, after that order that it is set out and appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, and none otherwise; and the Litany also in the middle aley of the church, kneeling.

Whether every Wednesday and Friday is said or sung the English procession in the church, and whether the minister (if none be there to communicate with him) doth say such prayers after the Litany as are appointed for the cōmon congregation], until the offertory.

Whether your parishioners every Sunday and holy day doth come to their own parish church to hear divine service with silence in prayer, pay their duties there, and once in the year at the least receive the holy communion as it is in the Book of Common Prayer appointed.

Whether any doth in interludes, plays, songs, rymes, or by open words, declare or speak any thing in depraving or despising the said Book, or any thing therein contained.

Whether any by open facts, dead or threatnyng doth compel cause or otherwise procure or maintayne any minister to synge or say any common or open praier, or to minstre any sacraments other or otherwise than is mentioned in the said booke.

Whether any doth wilfully interrupt or let any minister to sing or say the said communion or open prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such form as is mentioned in the said booke.

Whether any doth use to talk or jangle in the church in tyme of service, preaching, reading the homily, or communion, toll or ring any bell at the same tymes except necessity compelleth.

Whether Innholders or alehousekeepers do use commonly to sell meat and drink in the tyme of service, preaching, or communion.

Whether any grace be said at dinner or supper in any other tongue than in the English.

Whether organs do play away any part of the prayer or service.

Of Books.

Whether every minister under the degree of bachelor of divinity hath of his own the new testament both in English and Latin, with the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the same, and do diligently study the same in conferring the one with the other.

Whether there be provided and set up in some convenient place of the church one book of the whole Bible of the largiest volume in English, and the paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Gospels likewise in English, and whether your minister doth discourage any to look and read thereupon, so that it be done quietly without contention.

Whether any useth any other primer than the English, set forth by the King's Majesty, or any other Latin primer than is set forth by the same authority (if he understandeth Latin), except those primers that were set forth by King Henry the Eighth, so that invocation or prayer to saints in the same primers be blotted out.

Whether any other grammar be taught than that which is set out by the King's Majesty.

Whether any doth use to pray upon Beades.

Whether you have one book or Register in your church safely kept, wherein every Sunday are written the weddings, christenings, and buryings that were had the week before.

Of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies.

Whether ministers do duly and reverently minister the sacraments in their cure.

Whether your Curates do earnestly exhort his parishioners to dispose themselves to the often receiving of the communion.

Whether your Curate do admit any such to the Lord's table, as are open and notorious evil livers, or hath done wrong to their neighbour by word or deed, whereby other are offended; or openly known to be in malice or hatred; before the amendment of their life and satisfaction to their neighbour.

Whether the minister receiveth the sacrament except there be one at the least to communicate with him.

Whether the minister useth any elevation or shewing the sacrament before the distribution thereof.

Whether the minister or any other doth reserve the sacrament, and not immediately receive it.

Whether any tarieth in the quire after the offertory, other than those that do communicate except clerks and ministers.

Whether the parishioners do offer every Sunday the just value of the holy lofe, to the use of the curates, in that order as they were wont to pay the holy lofe, and whether the same person to whom such course doth come, or one at the least of his household, or else one appointed by him, do receive the communion that same day with the minister.

The Articles commence at folio 304 verso of the Ridley Register (or rather the Bonner Register, in which the Ridley is incorporated), and end on folio 305 verso; the omitted portion is on folio 305. The whole conclude thus:—

Finis.

God save the Kyng.

Imprinted at London by Reynold Wolf
cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.

No. II.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 429 of this Volume.)

From the Edition of 1563, p. 925, and the Bonner Register, fol. 845.

A monition of Bonner Byshop of London, to all and singuler his parishioners, for repairing of all suche furnitures as belongeth to the setting forth of the Romish service, as chalices, vestiments, &c.

Edmundus, &c. Universis, &c. Quia jure id exigente, ac æquitate etiam suadente, parochiani ecclesiarum singularum Cantuariensis Provinciæ, quæ necessaria aut oportuna sunt ad cultum divinum, sacramentorum ac sacramentalium administrationem, providere debite et congruenter tenentur, ac inter cætera calicem, libros, vestimenta, vasa, ac alia ornamenta pro divinis obsequiis et serviciis qualitercunque apta et requisita comparare: et insuper quia parochiani ipsi pro animarum salute ad ecclesias suas accedere, missam officiaque divina audire, confessionemque auricularem facere, ac venerandum eucharistiæ sacramentum religiose et devote (præsertim temporibus ad id statutis et consuetis) suscipere simili modo ex ordinatione ecclesiæ catholicæ, et laudabili ejusdem consuetudine, astringuntur: deinde, quia ex fide-dignorum multorum relatione fida, factique notorietate, et fama publica referente intelleximus, quod nonnulli parochiani nostræ London. diocesis, Cantuariensisque provinciæ, præmissa aut eorum aliqua sic providere, comparare, accedere, audire, facere et suscipere, vel omnino contempnunt, aut saltem plus æquo et iusto differunt: Nos, volentes (prout ex officio debito tenemur) congruam in eisdem reformationem ac debitam provisionem adhibere, vobis conjunctim et divisim tenore præsentium committimus ac mandamus, quatenus receptis præsentibus, una cum schedula eisdem annexa, parochianos cujuscunque parochiæ infra diocesim nostram London. ubilibet, in exemptis vel non exemptis locis quibuscunque, in præmissis aut eorum aliquibus cessatores, aut negligentes, vel culpabiles qualitercunque existentes, moneatis, quos etiam nos tenore præsentium, primo, secundo, et tertio, ac peremptorie monemus, quod ipsi parochiani omnes et singuli ad præmissa omnia et singula facienda et expedienda, quatenus eos quovismodo tangunt aut concernunt, cum annexis, connexis, dependentibus, ac debitis circumstantiis, diligenter se præparent, eaque faciant, ac fieri debite procurent, ante festum Paschæ proxime futurum, mora et culpa quibuscunque cessantibus. Porro, si cessatores ipsi, ac negligentes, vel culpabiles, aut remissi, sic per vos moniti, illa aut eorum aliqua sic facere aut perimplere non curaverint, aut distulerint, tunc et in eum eventum eos omnes et singulos, sic cessantes, negligentes, culpabiles, vel remissos, in hac parte, autoritate nostra citetis, seu citari faciatis peremptorie, quod illi, ac eorum quilibet, coram nobis, seu nostro in spiritualibus vicario generali, aut Commissario nostro quocunque, in ecclesia nostra cathedrali Divi Pauli London., loco consistorii ibidem, die Veneris (videlicet sexto die mensis Aprilis proxime futuro post datam præsentium), hora causarum consueta, personaliter compareant et compareat, causam rationabilem et legitimam (si quam pro se habeant aut habeat), quare ob eorum culpam et negligentiam hujusmodi excommunicari, aut aliter debite juxta juris exigentiam corrigi et puniri, non debeant et debeat, in juris forma dicturi, allegaturi, et proposituri; ulteriusque facturi et recepturi, quod juris fuerit et rationis. Et quid in præmissis &c. Nos autem dictum nostrum vicarium &c. dictis die, hora et loco, una cum nominibus omnium et singulorum in ea parte monitorum et citatorum, debite certificetis, una cum præsentibus. Datum Londini vii. die Marci, Anno Domini secundum cursum &c. 1553 et nostræ translationis Anno decimo quinto.

¶ The same in Englyshe.

Edmund &c. To all &c. Forasmuch as both lawe and equitie so requiring, the parishioners of all and singuler churches, within the province of Caunterbury, are bound duly and conveniently to provide for thinges necessary and

requisite to divine service, to thadministration of the holy Sacramentes, and sacramentalles; and namely amongst other things for chalice, bokea, vestimentes, vessels, and other ornaments fit and requisite any maner way to the furniture of divine service: and furthermore for as muche as the sayde parishioners for the soules health, are bound lykewyse by the ordinaunce of the Catholike church, and the laudable custome of the same, to come to their churches, to hear messe and other divine service, and there to make their auricular confession, and also devoutly there to take their rites: namely at tymes thereunto appointed and accustomed: and moreover for so muche as by credible report of divers, and by the manifest apperaunce of the facts and by publique fame, it hath come to our eares, that divers parishioners of our dioces of London, and within the province of Caunterbury, do either contemne utterly, or els doo differ by to muche negligence, to accomplish the premisses, either in the whole, or in part, in so procuring, providing, hearing, making and receiving: we therefore minding as we are bound to doe, to see a convenient reformation, and due provision of the same, do charge and commaunde you, bothe jointly and severally, by¹ the tenor hereof, that you fourthwith upon the receipt of these presentes, and of the schedule hereunto annexed, do admonishe suche our parishioners, whersoever, within our dioces of London, in all places as well exempt as not exempt, as you shall see slack or negligent, or culpable any maner wayes in the premisses, whom also we ourselves by the tenor of these presentes do admonish first, second, and third tyme, and peremptorily, that all and singuler the sayd parishioners do diligently addresse them selves, to the performing and executing of all and singuler the premisses, so farre fourth as they touch and concerne them any maner of waies, with suche therunto adnexed, connexed, depending, and with the due circumstancies of the same: and both do themselves, and also see them duely to be accomplished and performed, before the feast of Easter next comming, all delay and stay whatsoever being set aside. Moreover, if such as be slack, negligent, or culpable, or remisse, beyng so admonished of you, shall delay or not regard to do or to performe the premisses, or any part thereof, then in so doing you by our autoritie do cite, or cause to be cited, peremptorily, all and singuler suche persones, being so slack, negligent, culpable or remisse, in that behalf: so that they, and every one of them, do appeare personally before us, or before our vicar-general, or any other commissary whatsoever, in our Cathedrall Church of Sainte Paule of London, in our Consistory, upon fryday (that is the vi. day of Aprill) next after the date herof, at the hour of sitting accustomed, there¹ in forme of lawe to saye for themselves, to alledge, and to propose, cause reasonable and lawfull (if they or he have any for them selfe), wherefore that they, for this theyr demerite and negligence, ought not to be excommunicate, or otherwise to be corrected and punished according to the determination of lawe, and farther to do and receave that, which lawe and reason shall require. And what ye have done in the premisses &c. you do duly certify us or our sayd vicar &c. the day, houre, and place aforesayd, with the names of al and singuler of them, in this parte by you admonished and cited, together with these presentes with al. Geven at London the viii. day of March *An. secundum cursum* &c. 1553, and of our translation the xv.

(1) The original words are here a little transposed, to suit the Latin.—Ed.

No. III.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DISPUTATIONS AT OXFORD
IN 1554, BY A SCHOLAR OF THE UNIVERSITY,
AN EYE-WITNESS.*(See Note in the Appendix on page 439 of this Volume.)*

From the Edition of 1563, pp. 931—936.

About the tenth of Apryll, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley ^{April 12.} Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, once bishop of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Wyndsore: And after from thence to the vniuersitie of Oxforde, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrary opinion. Two dayes after they commyng to the vniuersitie, being the xii. of Apryll, diuerse learned men of bothe the vniuersities were sente ^{April 12.} in commission from the conuocation aboue mentioned, of the clergie, to examine them, and dispute with them in certaine articles. The names of the chief were these: of Oxforde, Doctor Weston Prolocutor: Cole, Chedsey, Pye, Harpsfelde, Smyth. Of Cambridge, Yong, Seton, Watson, Atkinson, Thecknam, &c. On the xiiiith of Apryll, these learned men conuented in Saint Maries Church, and ^{April 13.} the three persons before named were brought out of prison, and generally one after another were asked their opinions in iii. questions, whiche were these.

1. Whether the naturall bodye of Christ was really in the sacramente by ^{3 Questions.} vertue of the words spoken by the priest, or no?

2. Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, were any other substance, then the substance of the body and bloud of Christ?

3. Whether in the Masse were a sacrifice propitiatorye, for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead?

Forsomuche as they answered negatiuely vnto these three questions, disputations wer offered them the Tuisdaye folowing, being the xvi. of that moneth: and thereto wer they willed to prepare themselves. Cranmer and Ridley vpon protestation agreed to dispute: Latimer refused, sayinge that he woulde offer to them in fewe wordes the summe of his faith, and thereto woulde stande, without disputation.

Nowe to declare consequently all thynges in ryght ordre, the next is, to set forth fyrste the ordre and maner of that disputation, then what theyr argumentes were on bothe sides, whiche disputed with them. Al whiche here foloweth orderly to be sene.

The whole discourse of the disputations holden at Oxforde betwixt the three Bishops, and other diuines, descrybed in a certayne letter of a scholer of the same vniuersity, who was himself present therat, and semeth in his report, mooste nexte to come to the truth of the matter.

These are to let you knowe the effecte and summe of the examination of the Doctors, or Byshoppes, whiche were here vpon Sunday before Doctor Weston, with many other mo, bothe of Oxforde and Cambridge, to the number of 33.

First was brought before him the Byshop of Canterbury that was: to whome Doctor Weston made a short preface, in prayse of vnitie, and especially in the church of Christe. Then did he declare, that he was one of that vnitie, and a member thereof in time past: but of late yeares he did separate, and cut of hymselfe from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every yere a newe Faith. Therefore it pleased the Quenes grace, to sende them of the conuocation, and other learned men, to bryng him to this vnitie again, if it might be. Then shewed he hym how they of the conuocation house had agreed vpon certaine articles, wherunto they wylled hym to subscribe. The Bishop answered to the preface very wittely, modestly, and learnedly, shewing that he was verye glad of an vnitie, forasmuche as she was Conservatrix omnium rerum publicarum, tam Ethnicorum quam Christianorum. That is to saye, maintainer of all common wealthes, as well Heathen, as of Christians: and so he dilated the matter, with one or twoo stories of the Romanes common wealth, and declared that the common wealth of Rome was the

author of all destruction, sedition, and abominable doctrine in the church of Christ: whiche thing when he had doone, he saide: that he was verye glad to come to an vnitie, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy wordes.

Articles
to dispute
upon.

1.

2.

3.

Canter-
bury.

Ridley.

Latimer.

Cranmer
disputeth

Then did the Notarye reade the articles vnto him, whiche were these: In sacramento Altaris, quod verba consecrationis a sacerdote prolata, diuina virtute efficiunt verum corpus, reale, et naturale, natum ex virgine, sub speciebus panis et vini. That is: In the sacrament of the altar, that the wordes of consecration vttered by a Priest, by the diuine vertue, is made the verye reall and naturall bodye borne of the virgyn, vnder the kyndes of bread and wyne. The second article, Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque vlla alia substantia nisi dei et hominis. That is: After the consecration, the substance of bread and wine doe not remaine, nor any other substaunce, but of God and man. The third article. In missa est sacrificium propitiatorium et viuificum pro viuis et defunctis. That is: In the Masse there is a propitiatory and liuely sacrifice, for the quick and the dead. The Byshop of Canterbury did reade them ouer thre or foure times, and asked them what thei ment by these termes (verum et naturale) that is, true and naturall. Doe you not meane, saith he, corpus organicum, that is, a sensible body? Some answered, Idem quod natus ex virgine, that is: the same that was borne of the virgin: and so confused, som said one thing, some another. Than the Bishop of Canterbury denied it vtterly: and when he had looked vpon the other two, he sayd they wer all false, and against Goddes holy word. Therefore woulde not he agree in that vnitie wyth them. Then they willed him to write his mind of them, that they might see them that nyght. He was so contented, and ac they appoynted him with Anthony Smith, a time and leasure to defende him against Monday in the diuinitie scholes, whiche the Bishop was contented to doe. He was greatly commended of euerye bodie for his modestye: insomuche that I dyd see some maisters of Arte wepe for him, which in iudgement were contrarye to him. Then Doctor Ridley, when he heard the articles red vnto him, answered without any delay, saying: they were all false, and saide further, that they sprang out of a bitter and soure roote. His aunsweres were sharpe, witty, and verye learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made, when he was Bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake wyth the transubstantiation. He denied it vtterlye, and asked whether they could bring out anye that heard him, which would say and affyrme with them the same. They coulde bring no prooffe of it at al. After that he was asked of one whether he desired not my Lorde Chauncellour that now is, to stick to the Masse, and other thinges: He saide, that my Lorde woulde saye no such thinges, or wordes of him: for if he did, he reported not the truthe of him. Then he was asked whether he would dispute or no. He answered: As long as God gaue him life, he shuld not onely haue his heart, but also his mouthe and penne, to defende his truthe: but he required time and bookes. They sayd he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should haue bookes: He sayde it was not reason that he mighte not haue hys owne bookes, and time also to looke his disputations. Then gaue they him the articles, and bad him write his minde of them that nyght, and so did they commaunde the Mayre to haue hym from whence he came.

Then was brought to them olde Latimer, whiche had not with them so many wordes, as the other: his voyce was very lowe, so that I coulde not heare him as the other, but that I heard hym say the articles were al false. Again they tolde him that he should dispute in them. He saide, he was almost as mete to dispute, as to be a captayne of Callis: but he saide, that he would declare his minde, either by writing, or by worde. Furthermore, he sayde he woulde stande to all that they coulde laye vpon his backe. He sayde also, that he could not be suffered to haue penne, ynke, paper, nor bokes, neuer since he was in trouble laste, but onely the newe testament, whiche (he sayde) he had read ouer seuen times deliberately, and yet coulde not finde neither marybones, nor sinowes of the Masse in it. At whiche aunswere they were sore offended: And Doctor Weston sayde that he would make him graunte, that it had bothe mary and sinowes in the new testament. Then saide maister Latimer, that will you neuer do maister Doctor, and so was he commaunded to be had to the place where he came fro.

Nowe for the disputations on Monday, as it was appoynted before, dyd aunswere to the same maister Doctor Cranmer: I coulde not write the argu-

mentes, there was such throng of people. They wer such as we heard before, and he answered in lyke maner. And where some haue reported him to bee vtterly vnlearned, and not able to vnderstande a latin text of a Doctor: hee hath shewed himselfe learned bothe in latin and Greke, for truly he had a better latin tonge, then diuerse that dyd oppose hym. There were sometyme fise or sixe at him at one tyme, so that if he had answered to one, other two or three would haue bene at him at one tyme, before he had spoken halfe a sentence. The strongest argument which was thought to blank hym, was out of Chrisostom, which is this. *Idem est in terris quod est summo honore dignum.* That is: that thing is on earth, whiche is worthy greatest honour. *Ergo naturale corpus Christi est præsens in terris: alioqui non est in terris quod est summo honore dignum.* That is: *Ergo* the naturall bodye of Christ is present in earth, or els there is not in earth that is worthy greatest honour. He answered that Chrisostome had in that place: ostenditur, representatur, et per sacramenta tanquam ob oculos ponitur Christus, eius verum corpus fide et digne sumentibus, et sic est in terris quod est summo honore dignum. That is: Christ is shewed and represented by the sacramentes, euen as hee were putte before oure eyes, to such as receyue his true bodye in faith, and so is on earth that is woorthye greatest honour, as Paule to the Galatians sayeth: Christus Iesus depictus pre oculis illorum, et inter illos crucifixus, because he was so set foorth to them, as it had bene before theyr eyes, predicatione verbi, by preaching the worde. Then arose there a controversy about the translation of a word in the Bishop of Canterburies booke. It was about (*verum*) and (*verè*), truly or of a truthe, whiche the Bishoppe sayde little or nothing differed in sense: and saide as farre as he remembred it was also in Doctor Smythes booke. Then did Doctor Weston bid Doctor Smith aunswere for himselfe. He answered neuer a worde. Than maister Price sayde by the Canon lawe, *diabolo non permittitur defensio, sed prohibetur.* To the devil defence must not be geuen, but taken away from him. For ther were so many at him still, that it was impossible for any one man to aunswere directlye to them all. There were that disputed besydes these Doctors, Doctor Chedsey, D. Weston, Doctor Tresham, and Yong, Doctor Cole, Doctor Coke, Doctor Oglethorp, Doctor Seton, maister Pye, and maister Harpsfield.

A place
of Chry-
sostom
aun-
swered.

The next day did they dispute with Doctor Ridley. First Doctor Smith, Doctor Weston, Doctor Tresham, Doctor Oglethorp, Doctor Cole, maister Warde, maister Harpsfield, D. Watson, maister Price, maister Harding, maister Cartor, maister Brandor, to all them he aunswere very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let hym go forth in it, but caused hym to make an ende of the same, and saide it was blasphemye, and some saide he droue away the time in ambyguous thinges, nothing to the purpose, and so they would not suffer hym to saye his mynde. Doctor Smith could get nothing at his hand, in so muche other did take his argumentes, and prosecuted them. He shewed himselfe to be learned, and a great scholar: they could bryng nothing, but he knewe it as well as they. Thus for lacke of leasure I make an ende.

D. Ridley
disputeth.

The Doctors of Cambridge broughte all the subscriptions of the scholers, and a letter sealed with the Uniuersitie seale, wherin they semed to lament, that these men beyng once of their bodie, nowe hadde separated themselues from them, and the church. Here is suche subscribing as neuer hath bene sene afore: for thei say they will haue them to prison out of hand, and the Canon lawes executed vpon them, that would not subscribe. All oure house haue subscribed, sauing I and my chamberfelowe, and we looke euery houre, when we shall not onely loose our colledge, but also goe to prison, whiche maister Doctor Weston threateneth sore. But if I can escape with loosinge of my Colledge, he shal assoone cut of my right hand, as to make me subscribe.

On the 18. daye of Apryll, Latimer came into the diuinitie scholes, at the same houre: and after the same maner that the other came before, and he refused to dispute, deliuerynge the Quenes maiesties visitours the declaration of his minde in Latin, alleging that disputations required a stedfast memorye, and that his by age and other infirmities sayled, and therefore he would content himselfe with the declaration of his conscience. And when Doctor Weston vrged him to aunswere, he denyed, syngynge styl one song: yet for all that, they would needes dispute with hym, and maister Smithe of Oriall Colledge, Doctor Scot, and maister Burman were set to oppose hym, which went still to

La'timer
disputeth.

the Doctors: then tolde he them, that thei promised him to proue it by the scriptures with which said Doctor Weston being moued: maister Latimer on Saturday last past you said you could not finde in the testament no mary, sinowes, nor bones of the masse, and therefore now you shall haue bread to the mary: and so asked him whether he would haue all thinges kept, that Christ did at his last supper. Maister Latimer answered, he would haue the instytution of Christ kept, but not all thyngs. Then saide Doctor Weston, if you will haue al thinges kept, then must Priestes wash their feete, whiche doe communicate and be hanged themselues the morowe after. And I pray you (sayd he) where (maister Latimer) haue you in al the newe testament that ener any woman did communicate? Then did maister Latimer desire licence to speake, and that obtained, put on hys spectacles and turned to the xi. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, where Paule sayeth: *Probet seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et calice bibat.* That is: Let a man examine himself and so let him eate of the bread and drink of the cup. After that he asked Doctor Weston: *Cuius generis homo est*, what gender manne is. He answered: *Communis generis: ergo* sayde maister Latimer, there is mention made that a woman should receiue the communion by the scriptures. And Doctor Weston replied by reprehending the translation, that it had *homo* for *vir*, and brought this argument, that Paul gaue that same that Christe gaue to his discyples, but Christ gaue the communion to no woman, therefore the same scriptures oughte not to be so largely vnderstanded. He denyed hys minor, saying that Christ gaue it to his xii. Apostles, whiche did represent the church, wherin wer women, as wel as men. Doctor Smith also replying, sayde: it was in the text, *probet seipsum homo*, which did make as it wer against *communis generis naturam*, declaryng that it ought to be vnderstande of the man only: and at the very same time of the Doctors replying, there stode a boy by me, whiche sayd to two or thre that stode by him, it may be very well *seipsum*, and yet it may stande both for man and woman, for the Masculine gendre is more worthy then the Feminine. Latimer as I suppose heard it not, there spake so many at once. Then sayd Doctor Weston, your communion is not onely euyll, but you haue geuen an euyll name to the sacrament, calling it the Lordes supper. It is not the Lordes supper, but a beuer or drynkyng after supper. He is a very poore lord (saide he) that hath no more to his supper then a pece of bread, and a cup of wine: To that Latimer answered, that *Iudaica cœna peracta, qua pascha sabbato comedebant, dominica cœna incepta est.* The iudaical supper being past, in whiche on the Sabbath day they dyd eate, the Lordes supper is begonne, not that it shoulde be no supper at al. Ye see verely it must nedes be the wordes of the scriptures. Then Doctor Weston made a digression or falling awaye from this to another matter. In the communion booke is a saying: This take, eate, and bee thankfull. On these wordes (said Doctor Weston) it is a worthy saying to say: this take, eat, and be thankfull. Mary syr I thanke you, I praye you be mery as I may saye. Then sayde Doctor Weston agayne: maister Latimer, ye can nyether finde in the scripture that a Woman should receiue the communion, nor your Oyster borde, nor yet lofe bread, nor your bare bread, and therefore ye are lyke to eate youre mary bones without bread, and then may they chaunce to choke you: And when maister Latimer answered them of their Doctors, he recited the sentence of Melanthon: *Commodius senserunt doctores nonnunquam, quam locuti sunt.* The Doctors did thinke often tymes better then they did speake. He sayde also Augustine was a reasonable man, that required vs not to beleue him farther, then the scripture dyd allowe, or that he brought scripture for himself. After this Doctor Cartwright declared in open audience, that he had bene in errors, and was come home agayne to the church, wylling him to do the same. Latimer answered, that the losse of goodes and possessions, putting out of fauour, hinderaunce from promotions, feare of imprisonment and burning, seemed to some an inuincible argument, and had blanked manye, iudgyng Doctor Cartwright to bee one of them. Then sayde Doctor Weston, you haue sayde Masse many a tyme (maister Latimer) whiche he graunted: but holding vp his hands and lifting vp his eyes, sayd: I cry God hartely mercy for it.

Then Doctor Weston asked hym whether he thought it wel done, to take out of the church the crosse of Christ, and to leaue there the signe of the Gallows: He answered it was ryghte wel doone: for the Gallows is a necessary-monument of Justice to be obserued, and the crosse was a monument of Idolatry.

trye to be committed. Finally Doctor Weston exhorted him to leaue his Heresies, saying it would do hym no good, to see his beard burned with a fagot, and so ended wednisdaye worke. It semed to me and a number more, that they caused hym to bee brought forth for nothing els, but to laugh at hym and mocke hym: suche was their behaiour in the scholes that daye. Uppon Thursdaye, at the accustomed houre did Mayster Harpsfield aunswere in the same questyons, sua forma, for his forme, for his grace to be Doctour. Doctour Weston did oppose him with Peter Martirs argumentes. In like maner dyd Doctor Cranmer oppose, tyll Doctor Weston saide: Hæc tibi sufficient, ynunghe for you syr. For truely he passed al mennes expectation in doying the same. I myselfe whiche dyd euer thynke that he was better learned, than many reported he was, yet would I haue thought he could not haue done so well, nor would not haue beleued it, yf I had not heard hym my selfe. They disputed de corpore quantitatio, which they said was ther sine momento quantitatio: but he proued the contrary, in so muche they wer madde with him for asking whether there were in the naturall bodye of Christ proportio, spatium, ac distantia inter membrum et membrum, that is, a proportion, space or distaunce betwixt member and member. One answered one thyng, another another thyng. At length stooode vp maister Ward, and would proue it ex predicamento quantitatis of a predicament of quantitie. The Byshop sayde Ego etiam legi predicamenta Aristotelis, nunquam tamen potui inuenire talem quantitatem, qualem vos hic ponitis: I also haue red the predicamentes of Aristotle, neuer for all that coude I fynde suche a quantitie, as you dooe putte forth. And then was mayster Warde vp with his positio per actum et positio loci and mathematicall, Metaphysicall positions, whiche farre passed my capacitie, and I thinke few or none vnderstoode hym, in all the diuinitye scholes: but he coude not deceive him in al the predicamentes. Then dyd they dispute, whether Impii, that is the wicked, do receue the body of Christ or no, of whiche he reasoned wonderfull learnedly out of the sixt of John. After these argumentes Doctor Weston tooke the matter in hand, and continued tyll twelue of the clocke.

Doctor Ridley came not forth to oppose, and I cannot tell the cause why, but I thinke he woulde haue bene to good for them. Uppon Friday the Commissioners sate in sainte Maries churche, as they dyd the Saterdag-before, and Doctor Weston vsed particularly dissuasions with euery of them, and would not suffer them to aunswer in any wyse, but directly and peremptorily (as his wordes wer) to saye whether they would subscribe or no. And fyrst to the Bishop of Canterbury, he sayde he was ouercom in disputations: whom the B. answered, that whereas Doctor Weston sayde he hadde answered and opposed, and could neither mayntayn his own errors, nor impugne the verity, al that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as was required, vnlesse he woulde haue brawled with them: so thicke theyr reasons came one after another. Euer foure or fyue dyd interrupte hym, that he coude not speake. Mayster Ridley, and Maister Latimer wer asked what they would doe, they sayde they would stande to that they had said: then were they all called together, and sentence red ouer them, that they were no members of the Church. And therefore they, their fantours, and patrones were condemned as heretikes: and in readyng of it, they were asked whether they would turne or no, and they badde them read on in the name of God. for they were not mynded to turne. So were they condemned all three. After they sayd some what eueryche one of them.

The Bishop of Canterbury fyrste speaketh.

From this your iudgement and sentence, I appeale to the iust iudgement of god almighty, trusting to be present with him in heauen, for whose presence in the altar, I am thus condemned.

Doctor Ridley.

Although I be not of your company, yet dout not I, but my name is written in an other place, whether this sentence will sende us sooner, then we should by the course of nature haue come.

Doctor Latimer.

I thanke God most hartely, that he hath prolonged my lyfe to this ende, that I may in this case glorify God by that kinde of death.

Doctor Westons answer vnto Latimer.

If you goe to heauen in this faith, then wyll I neuer come thether, as I am thus persuaded.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from the other: videlicet, My lord of Canterbury was put in Bocardo, D. Ridley was caried to maister Shriues house, maister Latimer in maister Bailiffs. On Saterday we had Masse with ora pro nobis, with great solemnitie. Dr. Cranmer was caused to beholde it out of Bocardo. Doctor Ridley, out of the sheriues house. Latimer also being brought to see that, from the Baylifes house, thoughte that he should haue gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a Catchpole, to make a quicke fier. But when he came to Karfox, and sawe the matter, he ranne as faste as his olde bones woulde carye hym, to one Spensers shop, and would not looke towards it. Laste of all, Doctor Weston caried the sacrament and foure Doctors caried the Canipe ouer him.

No. IV.

TRANSLATION OF RIDLEY'S PREFACE TO HIS REPORT OF HIS DISPUTATION AT OXFORD, IN 1554.

(See Note in Appendix on page 532 of this Volume.)

From the Edition of 1563, p. 956.

Nicolas Ridley to the Christian Reader.

I NEUER yet sithens I was borne, sawe or heard any thyng doone, or handled more vaynelye or tumultuouslye, then the disputation whiche was had with me in the scholes at Oxforde. Yea verely, I could neuer haue thought, that it had bene possible to haue found among men of any knowlege, and learnyng in this realme, any so brassen faced and shameles, which could haue abidden, much lesse then, whiche coulde haue had pleasure in suche Robynhoode pastimes, as that disputation had plenty of.

The Sorbonicall clamours whiche at Paris (when Popery most reyned¹) I in tymes past haue seen, myght bee worthely thought (in comparison of this Thrasonicall ostentation) to haue had muche modestye. Howe be it, it was not to be wondred at, for that they which should ther haue bene Moderatours, and Ouerseers of others, and whiche should haue geuen a good example in wordes and grauitie &c. as Paul sayeth: It is not to be wondred at (I saye), in that these, of all others, gaue worst example, and did (as it were) blow the trumpet to other, to raile, rage, rore, and cry out. By reason wherof, good Christian Reader, it is very manifest, that they neuer sought for any truthe or veritye, but alonely for the glory of the world, and a Thrasonicall or braggyng victory. But least by the innumerable railinges, and conuitious tauntes, wherewith I was thoroughly thrust at, and as muche as in them laye ouerthrowne, our cause, yea, rather gods cause, and his churches should be euyll spoken of, and slaundered to the world, by the false examples of our disputations, and so the veritye it self susteyne some dammage, and reproche, I haue thought it my duety to wryte my aunsweres, that whosoener is desirous to knowe them, and the truthe withall, maye by this perceaue as well those thyngs, which wer chiefly objected, as that which was answered of me to euery of them.

Howbeit (good Reader) I confesse this to be moste true, that it is impossible to set forth either al that was (God knoweth) tumultuously spoken, and lyke as of mad men objected of so many, whiche spake often times buddle, so that

(1) This unintelligible parenthesis is clearly a mistranslation of the Latin "*ubi Papismus maximè regnat*," i. e. "*where Popery most reigneth*;" a proof by the way, that the Latin is Ridley's own original report.—Ed.

one coulde not well heare an other, eyther all that was aunswered of me briefly, to suche, and so diuers Opponents. Moreouer, a great part of the tyme appointed for the disputations, was vaynly spent in moste contumelious rebukes, and more then theatricall, or stage playe exhibilations, or hissynge, clapping of handes, and tryumphes, and that in the Englyshe tonge, to get the peoples fauour withall.

All whiche thynges, when I with Godlye grief dyd suffer, and theron did openly bewaile and wytnes, that that company of learned men and scholes, whiche were appoynted to graue men, and to graue matters, were contamynate and defyled by suche foolyshe and Robinhood pastimes, and that they whiche were the doers of suche thynges, dyd but thereby openly shew theyr vanitie: I was so farre by my suche humble complaynt from doying good, or helping any thyng at all, that I was inforced, what with hyssyng and shoutyng, and what with autoritye, to heare suche great reproches and slaunders uttered agaynst me, as no graue man wythoute blushyng, could abyde the hearyng of the same spoken of a moste vyle knaue, agaynst a moste wretched Lout. At the beginning of the dysputation, when I shoulde haue conformed myne aunswere, to the fyrst proposition, in few wordes, and that after the maner of disputations: before I coulde make an ende of my probation, which was not very long, euen the very doers themselues cried out, he speaketh blasphemies, blasphemies, blasphemies.

And when I on my knees besoughte them, and that hartely, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the ende, whereat the Prolocutour some thyng moued, cried out, let hym read it, let him reade it: yet when I agayn beganne to read it, there was by and by suche a crye and noyse, blasphemies, blasphemies, as I (to my remembraunce) neuer heard or redde the lyke, excepte it be one, whiche was in the actes of the Apostles, styrrd vp of Demetrius, the siluer Smith, and others of his occupation, crying out agaynst Paule, great is Diana of the Ephesians, greate is Diana of the Ephesians. And except it were a certayne dysputation, whiche the Arrians had against the Orthodoxes, and suche as were of Godly iudgement in Affricke: where it is sayd that suche as the presidente and rulers of the disputations be, such be the endes of the disputations. All were in hurly burly: and so greate were the slaunders that the Arrians caste out, that nothyng coulde quietly bee heard. Thus wryteth Victor in the seconde booke of his hystory. And the cryes and tumultes of these men at Oxforde nowe so preuayled, that woulde I, noulde I, I was inforced to leaue of the readyng of my probations, although they were short.

If anye manne doubt of the truthe hereof, lette hym aske of anye one that was there, and not vtterlye peruerterd in Poperye, and I am sure he wyl saye, that I speake the least. But to complayne of thynges further, I wyl cease: And nowe wyl I goe about syncerely to note the arguments made agaynst me, and mine answeres vnto them, as muche and as nere as my memorye will serue me, by diligent consyderyng and callyng to mynde euery cyrcumstance to the vttermost I can.

No. V.

TRANSLATION OF RIDLEY'S CONCLUSION TO HIS REPORT.

(See page 535 of this Volume, note (1).)

From the Edition of 1563, p. 978.

Doctor Ridley to the Reader.

Know (gentle Reader) that maister Prolocutour did promise me in the scholes, in the disputations, publikely, that I shoulde see myne aunsweres, howe they were collected and gathered of the Notaries, and that I shuld haue licence to adde, or diminyshe, to alter or chaunge afterwarde, as I shoulde

thinke beste would make for me to the answering of the propositions. He promised moreouer publicly that I shoulde haue bothe time and place for me to bring in frankly, all that I could for the confirmation of myne aunsweres. Nowe when he had promised all these thinges openly in the hearing of the other Comissioners, and of the whole vniuersitie of Oxford, yet good Reader marke this, that in very deede he perfourmed nothing of all that he promised. what faith then shall a man looke to finde at suche iudges handes in the secreete misteries of God, which in their promises so openly made, and so duely dette (I wil not speake of the witnes of the matter), ar found to be so faithles both to God and man. well I wyll leaue it to the iudgement of the wyse.

And nowe for that is left for vs to doo, let vs praye that God woulde haue mercie on his churche of England, that yet once, when it shal be his good pleasure, it may clearly see and gredely embrace in the face of Iesus Christe the will of the heauenly father, and that of his infinite mercy, he woulde either turne to him the raging and rauening wolues, and mooste subtile seducers of his people, whiche are by them altogether spoyled and bewitched, either that of his mooste righteous iudgement he woulde driue these faithles feedours from his flock, that they may no more be able to trouble and scatter abroad Christes sheepe from their shepeheard, and that spedely: Amen, Amen. And let euerye one that hath the spiritie (as S. John sayeth) say Amen. Yet further knowe thou that when maister Prolocutor did put furthe three propositions, he did commaunde vs to aunswere particularly to them al. After our aunsweres, neither he, nor his fellowes did euer enter into any disputation of any one of them, then only of the first. Yes, when that he had asked vs after disputations of the first (as ye haue hearde for my part) whether we woulde subscribe to the whole, in such sort, forme, and wordes as ther are set fourth, without further disputation, (which thyng we denied) by and by he gaue sentence against vs all, that is against me, Doctor Cranmer, and Doctor Latimer, my mooste dere fathers and brethren in Christ, condempning vs for heinous heretikes concerning euery of these propositions, and so separated vs one from another, sending vs seuerally into sundry and diuerse houses, to be kept mooste secretly to the daye of our burning, and as before, so still commaunded that all and euery one of our seruantes should be kept from vs, whereto he added that at his departure thence, penne, inke, and paper, should depart from vs also. But thanks be to God that gaue me to wryte this before the vse of suche thinges were vtterly taken away. Almighty god which beholdeth the causes of the afflicted, and is wonte to lose and loke mercifully on the bondes and gronyngs of the captiues, he vouchesafe now to loke vpon the causes of his poore church in England, and of his great wisdom and vnspeakeable mercie with speade to make an end of our mysery. Amen, Amen, Amen.

Further here is to be noted, that after these disputations ended, the Prolocutor layd vnto the charges of them that were Exceptores argumentorum, that they were more diligent in writing of the other part then of his, and in very deede they coulde not agree amonge them selues for the first dayes worke, albeit they had conferred twise or thrise. Notwithstanding at length a conference was made, which beinge sealed with the vniuersitie seale, was exhibited vp in the Conuocation house at London, the sayd moneth of Aprill the 27.

No. VI.

CARDINAL POLE'S LETTER TO POPE JULIUS III. REPORTING
THE RECONCILIATION OF ENGLAND.*(See page 573 of this Volume, note (1).)*

From the Edition of 1563, p. 1012.

Exemplum literarum Reuerendissimi, et illustriss. Domini Cardinalis Poli, Legati Apostolici de latere in Regno Angliæ, ad Sanctiss. Dominum nostrum Iulium Tertium, super eadem reductione, et obedientia.

Quæ superioribus diebus ad Sanctitatem vestram scripsi de ea spe, quam ceperam, fore vt breui hoc Regnum ad ecclesiæ vnitatem, et Sedis Apostolicæ obedientiam rediret, etsi non sine magna causa scripsi, non poteram tamen non in aliquo timore versari, non solum ob eam difficultatem, quam afferebat nostrorum hominum abalienata a sede Apostolica voluntas, et inueteratum iam per tot annos eius nominis odium, sed multo magis, quod verebar, ne ingressus ipse in causam, aliqua interposita minus honesta pactione, inquinaretur. Quod quidem ne accideret, vehementer egi cum Sereniss. Regibus. Sed nihil sane id necesse erat. Vicit eorum pietas, ac rei perficiendæ studium, omnem expectationem meam, quamuis maximam. Hodie autem vespri, quo die Sancti Andree Apostoli memoria colebatur, qui primus Petrum fratrem suum ad Christum adduxit, diuina prouidentia factum est, vt hoc Regnum ad præstandam debitam Petri sedi et Sanctitati Vestræ obedientiam renocaretur, quo per illam Christo capiti, et eius corpori, quæ est Ecclesia, coniungeretur. Acta vero, et confecta res est in parlamento, præsentibus Regibus, tanta omnium consensione, et plausu, vt cum ego perorassem, post benedictionem statim ab vniuersis mirifica lætitiæ significatione acclamatum sæpius sit, Amen. Ex quo plane perspectum est, in his sanctum illud semen, etsi diu oppressum, non tamen extinctum fuisse, quod vel maxime nobilitas declarat. Hæc reuersus domum ad Sanctitatem Vestram scripseram, vt ei de tanta re tamque feliciter diuino consilio gesta, subito gratularer, cogitans has literas regio tabellario dare, qui paulo post discessurus dicebatur: post vero mutata sententia, cum statuissem certum hominem ex meis mittere, hoc tantum his literis addere volui ad gratulationis cumulum, eiusque lætitiæ gratulationem, quam cum maximam cepi ex ipsius rei euentu, omnium maximæ, tam sanctæ, tam vtilis vniuersæ Ecclesiæ, tam salutaris huic patriæ, quæ me genuit, tam honorificæ ei, quæ me excepit, tum vero non minorem ex ipsis Regibus, ex quorum virtute, pietateque id perfectum est, atque confestum. Quam multa, et quanta potest Ecclesia sponsa Christi, et mater nostra de his suis filijs sibi polliceri! O pietas, O prisca fides, quæ quidem in vtrisque sic elucet, vt qui eos videat, idem, quod Propheta de primis filijs Ecclesiæ dixit, cogatur dicere: "Isti sunt semen, cui benedixit Dominus; Hæc plantatio Domini ad glorandum." Quam sancte Sanctitas Vestra omni auctoritate, studioque huic matrimonio fauit! quod sane videtur præ se ferre magnam summi illius Regis similitudinem, qui mundi hæres, a regalibus sedibus a patre demissus est, vt esset Virginis sponsus et filius, et hac ratione vniuersum genus humanum consolaretur: sic enim Rex ipse, maximus omnium, qui in terris sunt, hæres, patrijs relictis regnis, et illis quidem maximis, in hoc paruum Regnum se contulit, huius virginis sponsus, et filius est factus (ita enim se gerit, tanquam filius esset, cum sit sponsus) vt, quod iam plane perfecit, Sequestrem se atque adiutorem ad reconciliandum Christo, et eius corpori, quod est Ecclesia, hunc populum, præberet. Quæ cum ita sint, quid tandem non ipsi Ecclesiæ matri ab eo expectandum est? qui id effecit, vt conuertat corda patrum in filios, et incredulos ad prudentiam iustorum, quæ sane virtus in ipso valde elucet. Hæc vero Regina, quæ tum, cum Sanctitas V. me ad eam legauit, tanquam virgula illa fumi ex arboribus mirrhæ, et thuris ex deserto ascendeat, ipsa paulo ante ab omnibus derelicta, quam nunc splendet! quale iam mirrhæ, ac thuris odorem suis effundit! quæ, vt de Christi matre ait Propheta, "antequam parturiret peperit, antequam veniret partus eius, peperit masculum. Quis unquam audiuit tale? et quis vidit huic simile: nunquid parturiet terra die vna, ant

parietur gens simul? hæc vero gentem totam nunc peperit, antequam enim partum ediderit, cuius in spe maxima sumus." Quanta nobis gratulandi causa datur! quanta gratias agendi diuinæ misericordiæ, S. Vestræ, et Cæsaris Maiestati, qui auctores tam felicitis, tamque pij coniugij fuistis, per quod nos Deo patri, et Christo, et Ecclesiæ reconciliati coniungimur! Qua de re gaudium, quod cepi, cum verbis consequi non possim, tacere tamen non possum. Huic vero gratulationi meæ coniunctum est id, quod quidem cum ex literis Reuerendi Archiepiscopi Consani, Sanctitatis Vestræ apud Cæsaream Maiestatem Nuntij cognouerim, maximam mihi lætitiā attulit, illam cepisse, ea, quæ in Ecclesia Romana vitio temporum deformata sunt, in pristinum decorem restituere. Quod quidem cum factum fuerit, tum vero exclamare vna cum Propheta, et Vestram Sanctitatem appellare licebit illis verbis: "Exue te stola luctus, et vexationis, et indue te decore, quia Deo tibi est in gloria sempiterna: nominabitur enim tibi nomen tuum a Deo sempiternum, pax iustitiæ, et honor pietatis. tum autem dicetur, circumspecte, et vide collectos filios tuos ab oriente sole, usque in occidentem in verbo sancto gaudentes." Nihil certe est (vt de filiis in occidente collectis loquar, qui se ad occurrendum matri præparant) quod libentius videre possint, quam illam (vt verbis Propheticiis vtar) ea diploide iustitiæ amictam, qua Deus olim ipsam ornavit: hoc vnum reliquum est, vt Vestræ Sanctitatis gaudium cumuletur, et vniuersæ simul Ecclesiæ, quæ vna cum nobis indignis filiis suis deum pro hoc orare non desinet. Deus optimus maximus Sanctitatem Vestram diu Ecclesiæ suæ incolumen conseruet. Londini die vltima Nouembris. 1554. E.S.V.

Humillimus seruus Reg. Cardinalis Polus.

See
No. XI.

No. VII.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 297.)

From the Latin Edition, Basil, 1559, p. 214.

"*QUAM* charus fuerit omnibus [Somersetus], inter multa argumenta illustre hoc unum erat, quod non deesset, qui strophiliæ ejus tincta sanguine domum secum auferrent. Quo in numero una erat fœmina, quæ tum, quum Northumbriæ Dux, altero ab istius morte anno, victus a Maria ac captivus per Londinum in Turrim duceretur, sudarium Somerseti sanguine imbutum occurrenti in platea Northumbrio ostentat: *En*, inquit, *en tibi sanguinem optimi Regis avunculi, quæ nepharia scævitia tua profusus, vindictam contra te expetit.* Hoc ille ubi audivit, cæteraque civium probra quibus undique impetebatur, revulsis vestibus, dejectoque vultu, fœdum eo die fortunæ suæ ludibrium sævæque ambitionis pœnas dedit. Hoc igitur inter Duces hos interfuit, quod in *Somerseti* supplicio non civitas modo, sed et universa fere Anglia, in squallore erat; quum in Huius nece nullius vultus tristis ait visus: Ille claram dedit et sinceram moriens fidei confessionem, quam vivens propagavit; Hic vero mutata in diversum religionem, ad missam primum, a missa deinde ad securim trahebatur, spe vitæ forsitan illectus a *Wintoniense*, qui callidissimo hoc fecit consilio, nempe ut recantationem haberet illius, quam postea Evangelicis posset in os obficere. Sed ita solet Numinis vindicta sanguinem sanguine plerumque remitti. Demum ab ejus morte non multo post mors Regis sequuta est. Nam quum ille an. 1552 Ja. 22 plecteretur, Edoardus Rex altero post eum anno 1553 circa mensem Junium interiit, morbo an veneno adhuc incertum est. Causa autem quare *Somersetus* condemnabatur hujusmodi fere erat, quod cum D. *Rodolpho Pains* paucisque aliis visus est ac dictus cœtus contra leges facere, quasi contra Ducem *Northumb.* ac nescio quos. Quo nomine *Pains*, cum capitis condemnaretur, hoc nuncium ad *Northumbrium* misisse fertur: fore nimirum ut sanguis ipsius pulvinar sub illius, quoad viveret, capite futurus esset. Atque hic cum fine Somerseti finem secundi hujus historiæ libri faciamus.

"In illustriss. ducem Somersetum distichon epitaphicum *Joan. F.*

"Innumeras uno laudes ut carmine dicam,
Anglia tota ruit cæde, Semere, tuâ."

No. VIII.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 520.)

From the Latin Edition, Basil, 1559, pp. 639, 640.

"HABES hic, studiose Lector, theologorum Oxoniensium adversus tres Episcopos disputationes, Reginæ Mariæ mandato institutas. Quibus et adjecti Harpafeldi Archidiaconi, quum is lancea¹ theologica imbuendus¹ esset, pro solenni ejus Academiæ more, cum Westono prolocutore dissertationem scholasticam. Rem omnem simpliciter, ac fide historica, ut gesta est, ex ipso notatiorum archetypo descriptam exhibui, nisi quod in Ridlei Episcopi Lond. disputatione multa, in Latimeri pleraque fere omnia, e vernaculo in Latinum sermonem deducenda essent, cæterum ad verbum *καὶ κατὰ πρόβας*, ut aiunt. Ipse ut de meo nihil adjecti, ita nec de re quicquam pronuncio, lectori suum cuique judicium integrum relinquens in medio. Non enim institutiones scribimus, sed historiam. Neque porro disputationem hic aliquam instituimus, sed referimus, ipsi interim nihil disputantes. Si quis theologorum partibus faveat impensius, poterit ille pro sua prudentia Episcoporum responsiones pendere. Rursus cui diversæ factionis allubescit magis sententia, theologorum objecta atque argumentationes perustrare non obfuert. Scio de hac materia ingentes ubique exardere digladiationes, non solum in Anglia, sed extra Angliam, etiam inter ejusdem Evangelii et professionis congregales: quas utinam mihi tam facile sedare in manu esset, quam hic exagitare non libet. Illud satis cum dolore mirari nequeo, unde hæc Christianorum tam præceps ad discordiam proclivitas, tam atroces inter se rixas ex ea re moventium, quæ una omnium maxime concordiam suadere mortalibus, discordiam propulsare debuit. Quid enim sacra est Eucharistia, si verum fateri volumus, nisi pacis² et conjunctionis symbolum? Et quæ jam dissidii fere materia, nisi de Eucharistia? Atque utinam nihil aliud, quam dissensiones duntaxat et pugnæ verborum essent! Jam in tanta laniena mitissimorum Christi martyrum, quorum ego ducentos non minus et septem, uno in anno atque in una Anglia, proferre possum extinctos, quæ tandem res alia mortis fere causam dedit, nisi causæ eucharistica? Primum erat in istis quidem malis remedium, ut tyrannis hæc scholastica e moribus Christianorum quam longissime arceretur, resque moderatis inter doctos disputationibus posset cum placabilitate transigi. Proximum, ut si a conviciis et odiis non posset, posset tamen a cæde et sanguine temperari. Aut si hic cruentas manus cohibere Pontificia crudelitas non posset, sicque Deo visum sit, per hos immites theologos Ecclesiam suam flagellare, supererat, ut reliquæ saltem partes, quæ sunt modestiores, positæ inter se intestinis factionibus, communem huc operam, preces, vota, doctrinam conferrent, ut Pontificio errori ac crudelitati sua facilius concordia mederentur. Aut si porro medelæ nulla hic spes locusque relinqueretur, retulerit id tamen non parum, ut eorum argumenta, rationes, doctorum allegationes, objectaque, omnes cognoscant atque intelligant, sicubi forte et ipsos contingat similes quoque conflictus cum hoc hominum genere experiri. Quis enim novit, si, quod nostras eventit Angliæ, cæteris item aliquando usuveniat imperiis, etiam ubi nunc maxime serenum est evangelium? Quamquam non libet, ne ominari quidem cuiquam male. Illud certe præclare a Mimo admonemur: Animus vereri quæ scit, scit tuto adgredi. Quin et fieri potest, ut non omnes fortasse theologi ubique, qui causæ hujus veritatem sat perspectam habent, satis tamen contra adversariorum conflictus instructi sint, si res ad disquisitionem veniat. Quam quidem ad rem non minimum adjumentum hæc ipsa disputatio, nisi me valde fallit, hominibus nostris allatura est: quæ etsi in usum (quod malim) nunquam istis veniat, nemini tamen, quod spero, incommoda, ac ne injucunda quidem, historiam rerum gestarum legenti esse poterit."

(1) We should probably read "laurea" and induendus."

(2) In the valuable addition at Vol. III. p. 724, extracted from the first English edition, are similar sentiments expressed.

No. IX.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 565.)

From the Bonner Register, fol. 357 verso.

Mandatum Episcopi ad abolendum pravas scripturas et dogmata hæreseos in parietibus ecclesiarum depict.

EDMUNDUS, permissione divina London. Episcopus, universis et singulis Rectoribus, Vicariis, Clericis et literatis, infra parochiam de Hadham, aut alibi infra diocesim nostram London. ubilibet constitutis, salutem, gratiam et benedictionem. Quia nonnulli iniquitatis filii, carnalibus desideriis et novitatibus dediti, veterem ecclesiæ faciem exterminare, et sectas et hæreses introducere, et stabilire multis modis sunt conati, auferentes Christi imaginem, et multa in ecclesia catholica antiquitus laudabiliter instituta et observata, substituentes interim quæ in tali loco non oportebat, ac in parietibus ecclesiæ scripturas nonnullas prave detortas, in hæresium suarum stabilimentum ut pntarunt, depingi curarunt, qui omnes eo præcipue tendebant, ut libertatem carnis, sacerdotumque conjugia tenerent, ac venerabile altaris sacramentum quantum in ipsis erat destruerent, et festos dies ac Jejunia, aliasque catholicæ ecclesiæ laudabiles consuetudines et disciplinam, extinguerent et enervarent, fenestram vitiis omnibus aperientes, et aditum ad virtutes penitus claudentes: Hinc est quod nos, Christiano zelo permoti, pro exoneratione debiti nostri, præmissa ulterius non ferenda censes, vobis conjunctim et divisim committimus, et tenore præsentium firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod, receptis præsentibus, cum omni celeritate accommode moneatis, seu moneri faciatis, primo, secundo, et tertio, ac peremptorie, omnes et singulos œconomos et parochianos, parochiarum et locorum quorumcunque, infra Dioc. nostram London. prædict. ubi Scripturæ hujusmodi extiterint, aut aliqua ex præmissis attentata fuerint, quod Scripturas hujusmodi deleant, aboleant, et exterminarent, ita quod ibidem legi et videri nullo modo possint: et ulterius faciant quod justum fuerit, ac laudabile, in hac parte. Et si post monitionem hujusmodi dicti œconomi aut parochiani, remissi et negligentes aut culpabiles extiterint, vos conjunctim et divisim ea facere, delere, abolere, et exterminare cum omni celeritate curetis, citando œconomos et parochianos omnes et singulos (quos nos etiam, in eum eventum, tenore præsentium citamus), quod dicti œconomi et parochiani omnes et singuli, sic remissi, negligentes, et culpabiles existentes, compareant coram nobis, aut nostro Vicario in spiritualibus Generali, et Officiali principali, seu Commissario nostro speciali, in ecclesia nostra Cathedrali divi Pauli London. loco Consistorii ibidem, et hora causarum consueta, sexto die post citationem hujusmodi, eis aut eorum alicui in hac parte factam, si juridicus fuerit: alioquin proximo die juridico ex tunc sequente, quo nos, aut vicarium nostrum, Officialem, aut Commissarium hujusmodi, pro tribunali sedere contigerit: causam rationabilem (si quam pro se habeant, aut dicere sciant) quare ob negligentiam, remissionem, et culpam suam hujusmodi, excommunicari, et alias puniri non debeant, dicturi et allegaturi; ulteriusque facturi, et recepturi, quod juris fuerit et rationis. Et quid in præmissis feceritis, nos, aut Vicarium nostrum, Officialem principalem, et Commissarium hujusmodi, diligenter et debite in omnibus et per omnia certificetis, seu sic certificet ille vestrum, qui nostrum hoc mandatum recepit exequendum. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apposuimus. Datum in sedibus nostris Episcopalibus London. xxv die mensis Octobris, An. Domini 1554, et nostræ translationis an. sextodecimo.

No. X.

(See Note in the Appendix on page 613.)

From the Latin Edition, Basil, 1559, p. 404.

“INTEREA temporis dum demutare sacerdotia cogitat *Laurentius*, exorta tempestas illa Mariana, tanquam Aquilonaris turbo, omnia repente mutat in Anglia. Agebatur quippe jam tempus illud, in quo voluit Dominus, exploratis veris a falsis ac subrepticis pastoribus, quid esset vere sacerdotem agere in templo Domini ostendere. Erant tum in Anglia atque in Hybernia, quemadmodum

apud alias passim gentes, Episcoporum tum maxime sacerdotum ingens turba, qui sacerdotia atque ecclesiarum præfecturas multo ambitu affectabant, non ob aliud nisi ut ipsi in ocio molliori, aut in precio sane majori, apud suos agerent, magisque compendii sui, ut videbantur, quam conscientie, ventris quam Christi aut gregis, seriam curam aliquam præ se ferentes. Declarabant id crebræ sacerdotiorum nundinationes, permutationes, ac litationes; quæ res jam et ars esse nonnullis in locis cøperat, non aliter quam mercator suam exercet pannariam, aut cædo calceariam. Atque isti pene omnes ad Mariæ partes, mutata prioris religionis professione, facile desciverunt. Alii minus fortasse mali, at nihilominus tamen meticulosi, deserto grege, ceu abjecto clypeo, relictaque statione, fugæ se dabant et exilio. Quidam suis immorantes ecclesiis, occulta sunt malevolorum fraude appetiti. Quo in numero fuit *Hugonius Gudakerus*, Armacanus in Hybernia Episcopus ac metropolitæ primas; quem sub Edouardi regis mortem veneno propinato¹ extinctum esse per nescio quos occultæ conspirationis sacerdotes, suspicio fuit. Quanquam vero in hac deficientium, defugientium, ac trepidantium multitudine non pauci tamen manserunt viri boni, qui magno cum animi vigore sese fatali temporum calamitati opposuerunt, fortiter pro Christi gloria gregisque incolumitate depugnantes. Inter quos non postremus hic fuit *Laurentius*. Cujus dum tragicam descripturam sum historiam, attentas hic primum cogitationes mihi accommodari velim eorum, qui tanta hodie contentione ad capessendas Christi ecclesias, tanquam ad dignitatem aut prædam potius aliquam, festinant; quo vel Christo majores hoc nomine gratias habeant si vacent ipsi periculis; vel si periculentur, facilius quid sibi præstandum sit horum exemplis commoneantur.

“Atque principio non illud hic quæro neque exagito, quid in tanta rerum difficultate cæterorum hodie multi facerent, qui in ecclesiasticis præposituris tam delicate se comparant ac efferunt tam magnifice, summo otio altaque securitate diffuentes. Cæterum id quisque apud seipsum melius excutiat, quid facturus esset: nos, quid fecit *Laurentius*, accurata paulisper attentione advertamus.”

No. XI.

(See page 271 of this Volume, note (1).)

EPISTOLA MAGISTRI YONGI AD D. CHEKUM,

EXSCRIPTA EX IPSIUS YONGI AUTOGRAPHO.

From the Edition of 1563, p. 870.

Ersi animus mihi non mediocri dolore percussus est, vir amplius, propter immaturam (nisi ita deo visum sit) et flebilcm sanctiss. et eruditiss. viri D. Redmani mortem, adeo vt luctu et mærore multum obstupefactus vix tandem semet aut ad agendum aut ad cogitandum expediat; tamen cum id tuam amplitudinem me facere velle intelligam, libenter me ipse colligo, atque quæ ab ipso pio et Docto Redmano bonæ memoriæ viro, dum adhuc diuturna infirmitate contabescens certam mortem expectaret, de religionis controuersijs, quibus hodie Christi sponsa Ecclesia miserè diuexatur, pronuntiata audiverim, fideliter et verè hisce meis literis enarrare instituo. Is verò viginti jam aut amplius annos in sacris literis assidua lectione versatus, atque obortas de religione controuersias magno studio et multis vigilijs diligenter et industriè, non sine assidujs precibus et singulari quadam animi magnitudine et modestia, excutiens et pensitans, sic semet semper gressit, vt nec quod adulterinum et superstitiosum sibi videretur approbaret, nec quæ vera et pia esse sentiret vnquam improbaret. Itaque licet quibusdam in rebus sententiam ipse suam immutaret, idque compluribus, quibus illius singularis grauitas incognita fuerat, vel animi leuitate vel metu et pusillanimitate facere videatur: illis tamen quibus ipsius mores propter familiarem vitæ consuetudinem perspectiores fuerunt, illisque qui sibi morienti adfuerunt, animaduertenti: in causis accuratè excussis et ponderatis, non temeraria et inconsulta animi perturbatione, sed deliberato atque constanti iudicio et conscientia planè persuasa, in eam quam moriens profitebatur fidei rationem descendisse. Scire verò tuam prudentiam velim, quod vicinus morti,

(1) See "Styrye's Cranmer," vol. ii. 381, and note; edit. Eccles. Hist. Society.

abiecta iam omni spe salutis recuperandæ, ipse nihil aliud meditabatur (sicuti qui astitimus facili ex illius sermone deprehendimus) quam cælum et celestia, atque futurum iudicium et seruatores nostrum Christum, ad quem incredibili quodam ardore animi, corpore exutus, demigrare cupiebat: de quo crebro sermonem faciebat, cuius incredibilem amorem et dilectionem in nos miseros mortales multum et magnificè, idque sæpe non sine lachrimis, predicare et efferre solebat, nosque qui aduimus quò nosmet futuro Christi iudicio præparemus mutuoque nos inuicem amore complecteremur, atque a corruptissimo hoc seculo caueremus, vehementer hortaretur et moneret. Atque etiam si quis quid de illo sciscitari vellet, si quæ sentiret esse vera, ea (deo teste, ad quem se breui demigraturum sperabat) responsurum polliceretur.

D. Alexander Nowellus.

Ibi tum præsens vir magno veræ pietatis studio flagrans, D. Alexander Nowellus, atque illius perpetuò et amans et studiosus, ad hunc modum orsus est:—

Tuam et eruditionem excellentem et vitam integerrimam semper admaui et admiratus sum, atque non alio nomine (Deo, inquit, testimonium mihi perhibente) quæ propositurus sum rogo, quam vt ipse, quæ sit tua sententia de quibus hodie multum obturbamur controuersijs, discam; Ipse enim quæ a te pronunciata audiuerò tanquam oracula cœlitus edita amplectar et approbabo. Cumque D. Redmanus quæcunque vellet sciscitari iuberet, cumque sepositis omnibus affectibus sincere quæ ipse sentiret, quæque sibi vera esse persuaderet, responsurum promitteret, Facerem (inquit alter) nisi vereretur ne hoc meo sermone et colloquio tibi multum debilitato et iam prope exhausto molestus sim. Cui D. Redmanus, Quid ego iam corpori huic breui perituro parcam? Age age, inquit, quære quid velis. Tum ille eas quæ hic a nobis recensentur quæstiones ordine proposuit, quibus D. Redmanus eadem quæ subiunguntur ad singulas quæstiones responsa adhibuit.

Sedes Romana.

Primo rogauit quid ipse de Romano Episcopo sentiret. Cui Redmanus respondit: Sedes Romana posteriori hoc seculo multum a veræ pietatis et religionis puritate defecit, grauiter horrendis vitiis inquinata est et deformata. Illam itaque sentiam malorum esse, iuxta meam sententiam, pronuntio, breuique nisi respiscat Domino flagellante collapsuram. Deinde vero de nostræ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ spurcitie et impuritate breuiter conquestus est.

Purgatorium.

Rogatus vero quid de purgatorio animi haberet, et quo pacto scholasticorum de eo doctrina sibi placeat, respondit, Subtiles scholasticorum de purgatorio argutias inanes et commenticias sibi videri, multumque veræ pietati obesse: hoc etiam adjiciens, quod dum homines in Christi occursum rapiantur, quando ad iudicium cum gloria et maiestate venerit magna angelorum frequentia stipatus, per ignem quisque purgaretur, sicuti scriptum est: Ignis ante ipsum præcedet, et inflammabit in circuitu inimicos eius: et ignis in conspectu eius exardescet, et in circuitu eius tempestas valida. Dixitque aliquos e veteribus hanc de Purgatorio sententiam comprobasse.

Vtrum Impii manducant corpus Christi.

Quando quærebatur vtrum homines scelerati et impii in sacra communione xpi. corpus manducarent et sanguinem biberent, respondit, Illos Christi sacramentissimam carnem non manducare, sed sacramentum tantum percipere ad suam ipsorum condemnationem, Christumque dicebat tam fœdis et spurcis hominibus suam sacramentissimam et purissimam carnem non præbiturum, sed semet ab illis subducturum. Atque quod ab Augustino (inquit) contra obijcitur—Iudam idem accepisse quod Petrus, id ego de externo tantum sacramento intelligendum puto: Consimili etenim loquendi formula vti (inquit) possumus de Simonis Magi baptismo, et dicere: Simon Magus idem accepit quod Apostoli, nam quod ad externi Baptismi sacramentum spectat, idem accepit cum apostolis Simon Magus: At interna illa gratia qua perfusi sunt Apostoli, sanctoque Spiritu quo illi per baptismum sunt donati, caruit. Sic (inquit) perdit homines et profligati, qui impenitentes ad sacram illam Domini mensam temere accedunt, sacramentum vnum et idem quod homines pii accipiunt, Christi tamen corpus non accipiunt; Christus enim suum corpus non dignatur illis donare. Atque hanc dixit suam sententiam et opinionem semper fuisse, etiamsi sciret alios aliter sentire.

An Christus sit præsens Sacramento.

Interrogatus postea vtrum Christum existimaret sacramento præsentem esse, respondit, Se credere Christum vere et realiter corpus suum et sanguinem sub sacramentis panis et vini hominibus fidelibus exhibere, adeo vt qui pie ad sacras illas epulas accederent illarum beneficio Domino carnaliter et corporaliter

venirentur. Christum itaque suum corpus spiritualiter dixit impartire, sed tamen ita spiritualiter vt veraciter. Non quidem vt per hanc simplices voces vllam crassam et carnalem intelligentiam concipiamus, qualem (inquit) Capharnitæ olim somniabant, sed vt mysterij (inquit) ineffabilem maiestatem aliquibus vocibus exprimere elaboremus. Nam modus ille, quo Christus præsens adest suamque suppeditat fidelibus carnem, omnino inexplicabilis existit. Credendum vero est (ait) Dei potentia et Spiritus operatione ac virtute hoc tam illustre mysterium confici, cœlumque terris illo momento coniungi. Sicuti beatus Gregorius dixit, Ima iunguntur summis. Hoc vero esse sacrum illud pabulum quo qui in baptismo per Spiritum sanctum sunt regenti ad immortalitatem alerentur, Christique corpus per fidem sub sacramento percipi, dixit; percepitum vero, tam corpus quam animam ad immortalitatem vegetare.

Rogatus etiam quid de transubstantione sentiret, respondit, Sese multum in ea causa laborasse: multum primo illi sententiæ, quæ transubstantiationem affirmat, fuisse, atque diligenter et studiose nec paruo tempore in illius disquisitione versatum esse, comperisseque infinitum et nodosum atque prope inexplicabile absurditatis examen ex illa sententia erumpere et dimanare. Quibus diluendis quum ipse sibi parum satisfaceret, ad scholasticorum se scripta contulisse, Gabrielemque et alios eius farinæ scriptores euoluisse. Sperabat etenim illorum opera et subsidio, eas omnes quæ ex transubstantiatione asserta nascuntur incommoditates dilui et depelli posse. Quæ spes penitus frustrata fuit. Nam ridicula multa, inepta, et indigna quæ chartis linirentur aut de tanto mysterio effluerent, se in illorum luscubrationibus inuenisse dicebat. Itaque post illorum (sicuti aiebat) lectionem, illa de transubstantiatione opinio, indies apud se deferuescens, magis et magis elangebat. Ergo concludebat se sentire nullam esse huiusmodi, qualis a scholasticis confingitur, transubstantiationem. Antiquiores vero scriptores huic de transubstantiatione opinioni palam reclamare dicebat: E quibus nominatim numeravit Iustinum, Irenæum, et Tertullianum, apertissimos illius opinionis aduersarios et hostes. Illud preterea adiecit, vniuersam scholam non intelligere quid esset consecratio; quam ille definiuit esse plenam et integram sacræ communionis actionem.

Item rogatus num præsentem in sacra sua cœna Christum venerari debeamus et colere, respondit, Nos debere; idque et pietati et nostræ religioni conuenire, vt Christum in sacramento præsentem colamus. Rogatus de sacramento visibili quod oculis et aspectui obicitur, quodque sacerdotis manu in sublime leuatur, respondit, Nihil quod visibile esset, quodque oculorum sensu perciperetur, esse adorandum, Christumque nec in sublimiorem et celsiorem locum extolli, nec in inferiorem posse deprimi, adeoque nec sursum posse leuari nec deorsum.

Item, quum esset ab eo quæsitum quid sentiret de illa consuetudine, qua sacramentum in solemnibus pompis et ambarualibus supplicationibus atque (vt vulgariter dici solet) processionibus circumfertur, respondit, Illam sibi consuetudinem semper multum displicuisse, adeoque ipsum ante annos sexdecim contra illum abusum Cantabrigiæ et suggestu pronunciasse, illumque ritum improbasse: Christum vero et fructuosum et germanum huius sacramenti vsum disertis verbis expressisse, cum diceret, Accipite—qua voce (inquit) donum se daturum exprimit: Manducate—quo vocabulo illius sui tam eximij doni proprium vsum comministrat: Hoc est corpus meum—quibus verbis, quidnam illo dono ipsis largiretur, et quam illustre ac splendidum munus donaret, euidenter et clare explicat. Itaque superstitiosas illas pomparum ostentationes, tanquam adulterinas et fucatas religionis laruas prorsus damandas et repudiandas esse putauit.

Quum rogaretur num vile esse putaret, facere defunctorum commemorationem in precibus, respondit, Sibi vile videri et religiosum atque pium; idque ex libris Machabeorum confirmari posse: quos (inquit) libros etiam si diuus Hieronimus tanquam Apocryphos tantum pro ecclesiæ ædificatione non etiam dogmatum assertionem in templis esse perlegendos censeat, mihi tamen ea in causa reliquorum scriptorum consensus, quibus omnitius isti libri pro canonicis probantur, præponderat. Tum vero quum rogaretur, vt quid de trigintalibus missis et missis de Scala cœli sentiret eloqueretur, dixit, Superstitiosas illas, irreligiosas, et inutiles esse, atque ex purulento et sordido superstitionis fonte profluere et dimanare, illumque quem promitterent fructum non prestare. Sacrificium vero dominicæ cœnæ, Eucharistiam inquam, illud sacrificium negauit pro peccatis vel viuorum vel mortuorum offerendum esse.

Transubstantiatio.

Veneratio.

Defunctorum commemoratio.

*Fidel
iustifica-
tio.*

Demum vero vitro, atque (quantum memini) sua sponte, nemine eum rogante, has de nostra per Christum iustificatione protulit sententias. Doleo (inquit) pœnitetque precorque vt deus mihi ignoscat, quod tam obnixæ et tam asseueranter huic propositioni, (nempe 'sola fides iustificat') obstiterim. Verum ego semper verebar ne in libertatem carnis raperetur, atque eam quæ in Christo est vitæ innocentiam contaminaret. At illa propositio, 'sola nimirum fides iustificat,' vera (inquit) et suavis et plena spiritualis solatiij existit, si modo germane et recte intelligatur. Quumque quæreretur, quem ille germanum et verum illius sensum esse diceret, Ego (inquit) fidem illam viuificam, quæ in solo seruatore nostro Christo conquiescit, quæ illum amplectitur, intelligo, adeoque vt in vno seruatore nostro Christo tota nostra salutis fiducia defigatur.

Opera.

Opera quidem pia (inquit) suam habent coronam et præmium, propriaque mercede non destituuntur, æternum tamen et cœleste regnum non merentur: Nulla (inquiens) opera, nulla omnino, beatam illam et fœlicem atque perpetuam immortalitatem nobis comparare possunt, non illa etiam quæ sub gratia per Spiritus sancti impulsu fiunt; Beata etenim et immortalis gloria nobis mortalibus confertur a Patre cœlesti propter filium suum et seruatorem nostrum Christum, sicuti Diuus Paulus testatur, Donum, inquiens, Dei vita æterna.

Atque hæc quidem sunt, quæ ego ad quæstiones sibi propositas eum respondisse audiui. Nec vero usquam (quod memini) ab ea quam ab ipso enunciatam audiui sententia deflexi. Dominus noster Iesus Christus has turbulentas, quibus ecclesia iactatur, tempestates compescere dignetur, miserumque suum ouile miserabiliter iam dissipatum et dispersum propitiis intueatur et aspiciat, propter nomen sanctum suum. Amen. Ipse tuam amplitudinem gubernare dignetur et seruet. Londini iij Nouembris, &c.

